Vol. XII

SOME DOCUMENTS ON RACK-RENTING, EXTORTION, HIGH USURY, AND RECOURSE TO TORTURE DURING BRITISH RULE, c.1750 - 1900

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Note: The bold text (*) in this document is the emphasis added by the Editor-Compiler and is not part of the original document

1. PRE-BRITISH LAND RIGHTS IN INDIA - Report of Mr Beaufoy, Secretary, Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India created in 1784 by British Parliament, early 1792

IOR: HM.382 (pages 78-9)

By the ancient system of India, the situation of a ryot was much superior to that of a tenant at will; nor was he subject to arbitrary exactions at the pleasure of the zemindar. While he continued to pay the rent and fulfill the conditions to which by the custom of his village he was bound, he could not be legally dispossessed, and if taxes unauthorised by the government, or by the usage of the district were demanded, the courts of the capital as well as those of the province were open to his complaints; for the protection of the cultivator of the soil was described as the first *duty* and often became the first *object* of the Magistrate.

Even in the ruins of this system traces of its principles are easily discovered, for among the numerous assessments that now burthen the lands of the ryots, a tax which is called the original rent invariably takes the lead and has the semblance of governing the rates by which the other branches of the land tax are determined.

But the ancient privileges of the ryots, their claim to continual possession on the terms of a reasonable and established payment, and their exemption from all imposts but those which custom or positive enactments have duly authorised have perished with the government from which they derived their force.*

* Emphasis added by Editor-Compiler

2.VIEW OF BRITAIN TILL THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Based on a note by the Compiler of these narrations, 1970

2. *Incomes*. Regarding the comforts and prosperity enjoyed by the British people at this time (and in fact till about a century later) the people of England of this period may be divided into four economic categories. A survey of the position was made in 1812 by a much quoted authority. He computed the gross national income of Britain at £430,521,372 in 1812. This he divided amongst the various categories of the population according to a calculated income per family under each head. The following is from his data and grouped here under 4 main categories: *The first* consisted of the following:.

2. *Incomes.* Regarding the comforts and prosperity enjoyed by the British people at this time (and in fact till about a century later) the people of England of this period may be divided into four economic categories. A survey of the position was made in 1812 by a much quoted authority. He computed the gross national income of Britain at £430,521,372 in 1812. This he divided amongst the various categories of the population according to a calculated income per family under each head. The following is from his data and grouped here under 4 main categories: *The first* consisted of the following:.

	No of heads of Families	**Average annual Computed share of internal/family £**
Temporal Lords	516	10,000
Spiritual lords (Arch Bishop & Bishops)	48	5,010
Baronets	861	3,510
Knights & Esquires	11,000	2,000
Gentlemen & Ladies living on incomes	35,000	800
Bainent Bankers & Merchants	3,500	2,600
In all	50,925	

The second

Higher Civil and Military servants	50,880	£980 - 200
Eminent Clergymen	1,500	720
Lesser Clergymen	17,500	200
Judges,Barristers,Attorneys etc.	19,000	400
Physicians,Surgeons,Apothecaries	18,000	300
Artists,Sculptors,Engravers	5,000	280
Freeholders of land of the better sort	70,000	275
Lesser Merchants	22,800	805
Engineers, Surveyors, Master Builders.	8,700	300
Owners of ships, various manufactures.	54,150	304 - 600
University Teachers.	874	600
In all.	2,68,404	

The Third:

Lesser Freeholders and Fanners.	4,90,000	£120- 100
Minor Manufacturers like Tailors Milliners etc.	43,750	180

Shopkeepers and Retail Tradesmen	1,40,000	200
Clerks and Shopmen	95,000	70
Inn-keepers and Publishers	87,500	100
School-owners and Teachersemploying some capital	35,000	204
Dissenting Clergymen	5,000	100
Actors in Theatres etc.	875	200
In all.	8,97,125	

The Fourth

Half Pay Officers.	6,500	100
Common Soldiers.	2,80,000	35
Seaman and Marine	1,71,540	42
Any Pensioners in Homes etc.	42,000	15
Labouring People in Agriculture, Mining etc.(including earning of the Females)	7,42,151	45
Acquate Labourers in the Merchants Service, Fisheries, etc.	1,80,000	45
Umbrella and Personal Makers, Lace workers,Launderers Etc.	70,000	50
Artisans, Merchants, Labourers in Manufactories, Building work etc.	10,21,974	48
Hawkers, Pedlars etc	1,400	45
Persons in Prison for Debut	3,500	30
Paupers, producing from their own Labour in miscellaneous employments	3,87,100	10
In all	28,99,665	

The income of royal personages ranged from £172,000 to £18,300. There were several amongst the nobility, eminent merchants, bankers etc. whose annual incomes were higher than the latter figure. Wilberforce himself is said to have had an income of £30,000 a year.

3 *Land Ownership*

In 1813 England was still largely an agricultural country. The following indicates the position of land ownership about this period:

	No of Families	**Income Range £**	**Proportion owned of cultivated land**
1. Great Landlords	400	50,000 to 5,000	20-25%
2. Gentry:			
a)Wealthy	700-800	5,000 to 3,000	50-60%
b)Squires	3,000-4,000	3,000 to 1,000	
c)Gentlemen	10,000-20,000	1,000 to 300	
3. Freeholders:			
a)Better Sort	25,000	700 to 150	15-20%
b)Lesser Sort	75,000	300 to 30	

Over a million other families who were wholly engaged in agriculture were either landless labourers or tenants. The position sixty years later, in 1873, was only marginally different.

	No of owner	**Extent in Acres**
Peers and peeresses	400	5,728,979
Great Landowners	1,288	8,497,699
Squires	2,529	4,319,271
Great Yeomen	9,585	4,782,627
Lesser Yeomen	24,412	4,144,272
Small Proprietor	2,17,049	3,931,806
Cottagers	7,03,289	151,148
Public Bodies	14,459	1,443,548
Waste		1,524,624
	9,73,011	34,523,974

3. INDIAN PEASANT COULD ESTABLISH NO MORE RIGHT ON LAND THAN A TENANT IN ENGLAND

House of Commons 5th report - 1812

It was accordingly decided, "that the occupants of land in India could establish no more right, in respect to the soil, than tenantry upon an estate in England can establish a right to the land, by hereditary residence" and the meerassee of a village was therefore defined to be, "a preference of cultivation derived from hereditary residence but subject to the right of Government as the superior Lord of the soil, in what way it chooses, for the cultivation of its own lands."

4. CONQUEST CONVEYS A RIGHT OF CHANGING INSTITUTIONS: MR. PHILIP FRANCIS, c.1776

IOR : Francis papers : MSS Eur E 31 pp. 47 - 81 (sent to Lord North and Mr.Strachey 13.5.1776) Note: Mr.Francis's remarks on General Clavering's Observations on the Plan proposed for a new Settlement of the Provinces. The observation was against the right of adoption of the "large land-holders" and was for reducing the size of large "zemindaries." (Extract)

...(p.78)... In answer to the objection that, by changing the law, we should usurp those rights which we are bound to protect, it is sufficient to say that, **if conquest conveys a right of any kind, it certainly includes the right of establishing such institutions as are indispensably necessary for its own security*.** Let us either relinquish our dominion, or take the necessary steps to preserve it. I cannot reconcile contradictions.

5. IN CANARA REGION TILL MID-18TH CENTURY LAND TAX EQUAL TO THE AMOUNT OF PADDY SEED SOWN, BUT PAID IN VOLUME OF RICE; T. Munro to Board of Revenue: 31.5.1800

IOR: p/286/42: Part of unprinted portion: para 6 is however in the 5th report. (Extract)

3. ...(p.7379) October the country being now freed from the enemy the ryots made very little further opposition to the settlements. Those of Canara were finished in January and the jammahbundy might have been forwarded to you in February had not the placing Sondah under my charge made it necessary to wait for the settlement of that province which from its desolate state and the disorders to which it had long been exposed required a much longer time in proportion to its rent than that of Canara.

4. I have been the more particular in describing the abstracts which I met with in the settlement of Canara because except in the districts claimed by Poligars they originated entirely in the inhabitants having once been in possession of a fixed land rent, and in their still universally possessing their lands as private property, circumstances which distinguish Canara in a remarkable manner from all the countries beyond the Ghauts, and which must be attended to in whatever system may hereafter be framed for its management. The (p.7380) attachment of the inhabitants to this ancient land rent and the obstinacy with which they had resisted every new addition to it under the Mysore Government induced me to examine a number of ancient sunnuds and revenue accounts in order to ascertain from them what had been the state of revenue under the Rajahs of Biddanore as well as under Hyder and Tippoo and the cause of its decline. The accompanying statement shows the amount of the revenue under the Rajahs of Biddanore - and all the successive additions that have been made to it down to the close of Tippoo's reign. I have frequently entered ten or twelve small items under one head because it would be endless and perplexing to have detailed them all separately. I have confined myself to the land rent without taking any notice of the customs for a detail of them would afford no criterion from which a judgement could be formed of the state of the country - because rice from which they chiefly arose was never permitted to be freely exported by sea - but was always in part reserved though in a different (p.7381) proportion almost every year for supplying the troops at Nuggar and in all the garrisons both above and below the Ghauts. And as this rice paid no customs it therefore often happened that in years where the produce of rice was equal, the produce of the customs was less by half in one than in the other.

5. The great value of land in ancient times led the curnums to adopt every expedient they could think of for the preservation of their accounts because they were not only a register of the public revenue but of all the transfers of land among individuals. They wrote their accounts in black books which lasted above a century - and to guard against accidents they always made two or three copies which were distributed among different branches of the family to be kept separately. Whenever a volume became much worse from length of time and frequent use a fresh copy of it was made and a memorandum was usually inserted in the title page mentioning the year of Shalivahah (?) in which it had been written and also (p.7382) the date of the original or older copy from which it had been transcribed. The use of these registers having been prohibited during the Mysore Government a great part of them has been lost from negligence and other causes but enough still remains to furnish a compleat abstract of the land rent during a period of more than four hundred years.

6. **From the remotest times of which there is any record till near the middle of the fourteenth century all land was assessed in rice at a quantity equal to the quantity of paddy sown. That is to say a field which required ten candies of paddy to sow it paid ten candies of rice to the sirkar...***

7. ...ought to have) been allotted to them. Besides enams to bramins and pagodas there were many Enams to Polygars and Potails not entered in the jumma which were brought forward and added to it in succeeding reigns.

8. ...The settlement of Hurry Hur Ray which is referred to in all after assessments and is the foundation of the present land rent of Canara is not supposed to have been made from any actual measurement, but merely from the rough estimate of the quantity of seed reported to have been usually sown in each field. The distance of Canara from the seat of Government might have been the reasons, why it was conducted either very carelessly or with great indulgence to the inhabitants for between the years 1348 and 1366 additions were made to the jumma of above 20 per cent arising solely from lands not entered in the original settlement. From this time down to the year 1587 when Sadasewah Ray made over Canara on certain conditions to Chinnapah Cour of Kildi the founder of the Biddanore Government the sirkar rental continued unattended. It was so light that the inhabitants could have had no pretense for demanding any reduction of it. It is likely enough that they thought themselves fortunate in being permitted (p.7385) to retain so great a portion of the produce as they must than have enjoyed and that they therefore rather avoided than sought any discussion on so dangerous a subject. And that the Bijanuggar Rajahs in the possession of extensive dominions were satisfied with realising a certain the moderate revenue from the more distant provinces.

9. The Biddanore family made no additions till 1618 when they imposed an additional assessment of 50 per cent on the whole of the Jumma (except in what is called the Hobly of Mangalore...

(p.7437)

STATEMENT OF THE SUBAS COLLECTION OF LAND RENT 1788-9 to 1797-8

	(Totals of 13 Canara Dists)	Belgi (only)
1788-9	473,550-3-12	16,596-3-27
1789-90	454,273-14-56	17,067-35-18
1790-1	367,604-12-1	16,206-30-7
1791-2	368,108-30-77	16,179-12-7
1792-3	456,241-19-41	12,831-20-5
1793-4	418,903-28-32	8,504-18-41
1794-5	382,754-13-37	6,085-27-21
1795-6	333,691-7-42	9,717-29-66
1796-7	295,400-30-40	9,240-14-11
1797-8	208,849-19-64	4,029-13-50

Schedule of 1792 314,887-7-17

Settlement of Fusly
1209 (by T. Munro) 606,342-12-40

(*Note*)

It was my intention to have given the statement of collections from the year 1778-9 which by including four last years of Hyder's government would have shown how far his settlements after they had reached their highest pitch were realised, and it would have also shown in Tippoo's reign the decrease of his receipts in proportion as his assessments were raised and his affairs fell into confusion. But want of the accounts of one two villages in almost every district prevented me from obtaining a total of any one year in the first ten years for Canara or in the last ten for Soondah.

I may be able at some future period to compleat my plan but the arrears of current business have (forced) me to abandon it at the present.

IOR: P/286/42: Part of the portion of T.Munro's report on Canara dated 31.5.1800 not printed in the House of Commons Papers vol 7 for 1812. In the printed extracts, besides the exclusion of various paras etc., there is some seemingly inadvertent omission of the above reproduced portion of para 7 and of the first two lines of para 9.

6. LAND, THE PROPERTY OF INDIVIDUALS PAID IN MANY CASES NOT FIVE PERCENT OF THE PRODUCE IN TRAVANCORE, ETC.: BRITISH POLITICAL RESIDENT IN TRAVANCORE, c.1800

Evidence of Col. John Munro, Resident in Travancore for ten years, and who was employed in India from 1791-1825 before the House of Commons Select Committee: parliamentary Papers 1831-32 Vol XI

Question 1420: ...Col John Munro:... Some (lands) are held at a very low rent (Government tax) indeed, not amounting to five per cent of produce.

1424:... In general the Government assessment was two, three or four times the amount of seed sown. These were the assessments on the lands which were the absolute property of the Government.

1426: In some of the richer soils the produce was, I suppose, about 15 times the quantity of seed, or from 15 to 20. On an average, I should suppose at least from eight to ten times the quantity of seed sown.

1427: No, (the assessment would) not (amount) to half; but this was land the immediate property of the government, not the property of individuals because, **as I have stated, the land the property of individuals paid in many cases not five per cent on the produce.***

1478:Question: In cases where the government was not the immediate landholder and proprietor of the land, can you state at all what was the proportion which the cultivator paid to the intermediate landlord out of the produce of the land, as compared with the proportion paid to government?

Col Munro: I should think pretty much the same. For instance if the government, from any crime committed or imputed, sequestered the lands of an individual, they were entered in the revenue books, with the rents paid for them, by the tenants, and those rents were afterwards paid direct to the government; and the rents paid to private proprietors by their tenants were much the same with those paid to the government for its own lands.

Question 1488: Are there any differences with which you are acquainted between the systems as prevailing in those native states and under the Company's Government, which would be of any consequence in the execution of the Ryotwar system?

Col John Munro : Excepting in Tanjore, where there is a meerasy system, which may be considered as one of property in the soil, the amount of rent, in proportion to the produce of the land paid by the ryots to Government, is generally much higher throughout the Company's territories than it is in Travancore and Cochin.

7. INDIAN PEASANT'S WAITING FOR TIME OF JUSTICE AND HUMANITY: BRITISH JUDGE LEMAISTRE: c.1775

IRO: Francis Papers: MSS Eur F 13/A (No. 85 in printed catalogue): titled in catalogue "A Note on Impositions on the Ryots" undated.

Mr Justice Lemaistre:

In a country, that has been subject to so many revolutions, to expect the proof of customs and usages with all the technical exactness by the law of England, would be perhaps to expect an impossibility.

This is a country of considerable manufactures as well as agriculture; and the good policy of the despot must, I think, have intervened to control his power. Nor can I think that this country, without such regulations, could have been in the flourishing state it was, when it came into the hands of the Company.

The timid natives of this country, though inured to slavery for so many generations, still have a sense of the injustice of this legislative authority in the despot. It is notorious that the ryot, who does not pay perhaps above twenty rupees a year for his taxes for the ground upon which (p.10) he and his ancestors have subsisted for ages, keeps his account in columns in this manner: so much, says he, in the first, was the original payment which was made by my ancestors. So much, says he, in another, it was increased by Aliverdi Cawn upon such a pretence. So much, says he, by Sirajhud Dowla upon another. So much by Jaffier Aly Khan, upon another. So much, by Mr Sykes, for a Muttoot. And so much by the collectors of the East India Company another pretext.

Having made the sum total of those, he makes his deductions; such a tax taken off by Jaffier Ally Khan: such another by the East India Company: and having made such deductions, the remainder is what he is to pay.

Where arises this mode of keeping his accounts? Evidently upon this principle of natural justice, which he feels. (p.11)

These new importations have been lain upon me oppressively, at the will and pleasure of the ruling power; a time may come of law, justice, and humanity: I will be able to show what was the original payments which I admit to be due from time immemorial. I will keep every imposition separate and distinct, together with the pretext upon which it was raised; that, when the time of justice and humanity shall come, there may be materials upon which it may be decided whether I have been rightfully burdened or not.

8. INDIA BECAME LAWLESS FROM THE MOMENT SHE PASSED UNDER OUR GOVERNMENT: c.1773

A Letter to the Right Hon'ble Lord North on the present proceedings concerning the East India Company (London 1773) signed by A.B. 24-4-1773: 37 pages: British Museum: 100.m.44 (Extract)

(p.12) But India became lawless from the moment she passed under our government; the sceptre, wrested from the gentle grasp (13) of Asiatic despotism, was thrown aside and rods of iron put into the hands of British barbarians: No rule for direction, no sanction for punishment, no interest in the rulers for the protection and preservation of the governed, prevailed then. The harvest was abundant, but the season short and precarious: not a moment was lost in gathering, not an art was omitted that could expedite the hoarding. Pride and emulation stimulated avarice; and the sole contest was who should return to that home, which they almost quitted beggars, with the greatest heap of crimes and of plunder.

The first labourers tired and satiated left the gleaning to others, who are since successively returned with smaller but not inconsiderable bundles; and the only men left destitute are the unhappy natives, to whom the whole of right belonged.

9. LARGE SUMS OF MONEY IN LIEU OF PLUNDER OF CITIES, COUNTRYSIDE, ETC. FROM INDIAN RULERS, INHABITANTS.

IOL: MSS EUR 33: Memoir of Campaign on behalf of Raghonath Rao by James Forbes, FRS, etc.
Chaplain to Regiment commanded by Col. Keating, March 1775

From typescript MSS page 140 missing: It was this day given out in general orders, that Ragobah had signed a phirmaund, in which he promised the English forces now on this service under Col. Keating the sum of 30 lakh of rupees, to be paid on his arrival at Poonah, and being established there as Peshwa. And this donation is meant in lieu of all plunder, prize money or any demand whatever of that kind.

This method of recompensing the English for their service in war, has always been adopted by the princes on the other side of India.

[There are innumerable instances of such occurences in all parts of India from about 1750 (or may be earlier on even from the time of Thomas Roe, circa 1620s) to around 1860. If the British could agree with the local people and rulers about the amount they would be given if they did not attack and plunder, in such a situation, plunder was abondoned. In others when no such agreement could be had recourse was taken to plunder. This happened in South India numerous times during 1750 and 1800 and quite possibly in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, etc. after 1757. The same practice may have occured in a large number of places in India wherever the British began to advance between 1800 and 1857. Tanjore is one of the major cities which probably avoided such plunders several times before 1800.]

10. AMOUNT OF TIPOO'S REVENUE COLLECTION AND ITS DOUBLING BY THE BRITISH SOON AFTER: c.1790s

SRO: Scottish Record Office : GD 51/3/499/6 (Folio 533 recto) (Extract)

By Tippoo's Schedule, the revenues of the ceded countries north of the Covery, were estimated to 2,90,000 cantarary Pagodas, equal to about 2,40,000 Star Pagodas.

Date	Gross collection after deducting all native Servants	Collector Commission	Nett Revenue
By Captain Read's Collection			
From the date of the definitive treaty, to 12th July 1792.	S. Pag 79,689	3,820	76,407
From the 12th July 1792 to the 12 July 1793.	4,71,014	22,779	4,55,581

It is not easy to form an estimate of future increase of revenue, probably it will be 60 or 70,000 more in the course of five years. The nett revenue will then be about **5,20,000 Star pagodas - which will be considerably more than double Tippoo's estimate.***

Dindigul, Pylery and Verapatehy were estimated by Tippoo at 90,000 Cantarary Pagodas. I do not know the amount of our collections, but understand they ought to be a lack of Pagodas; even allowing them to be only 80,000 the countries ceded to the Company on our side of the Peninsula, may be valued at six lacks of Star Pagodas, nett revenue.

11. LAND WHICH PAID ONE RUPEE BEFORE NOW PAYS FIVE RUPEES: 1761

Bengal District Records: Chittagong (BM:ISBE 309/9) Vol.1. 16 Feb 1761; pp 33,35: Omissions in the printed text.

(p.33) In the same letter We further / / that a considerable Quantity of lands lay free of Rent P[articu]larly what had been granted in charity, that so great in the Revenues we thought in a few years might [ ] died by allowing the possessors of them [ ]ment during their natural lives only and then to [ ] to the Company: but as lands once given in charity ar[e] g[ene]rally held sacred, we request your sentiments thereon.

(p.35) **In our Letter of remarks to your honor under date the 16th February, we mentioned that the quantity / / Land which originally paid one Rupee rent, now pays upwards of Five; and that we judge the amount of the Revenues to be upwards of Five Lacks.***

12. FORMER COLLECTIONS OF DINAGPUR, BENGAL WERE 11-12 LAKHS, NOW THEY ARE 78 LAKHS; FROM THE RESIDENT AT THE DURBAR OF MURSHIDABAD: c.1769

The Letter Copy Books to the Resident at The Durbar at Murshidabad 1769-70, 1919. Extract: Mr. Becher to Hon'ble President 24-5-1769 (pp. xi-xiv)

The strictness with which the Collections have been kept up, and the destructive method of employing Aumils, I shall now give my sentiments on as full, as I am able, and then proceed to point out the remedies that appear to me to be necessary and practicable in the present situation of affairs. In Aliverdy Cawn's time the amount of the Revenues paid into the Treasury was much less than what comes in at present...

When the English first received the grant of the Dewannee their first consideration seems to have been the raising of as large sums from the country as could be collected, to answer the pressing demands from home and to defray the large expenses here*. The zemindars not being willing or able to pay the sums required, aumils have been sent into most of the Districts. These aumils on their appointment agree with the Ministers to pay a fixed sum for the districts they are to go to and the man that has offered most has generally been preferred. What a destructive system is this for the poor inhabitants! The aumils have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country where they make the collections, nor have they any certainty of holding their places beyond the year : the best recommendation they can have is to pay up their Kistbundees punctually, to which purpose **they fail not to rack the country whenever they find they can't otherwise pay their Kists.***

(p. xxvi - xxvii) (on a Separate paper)

Formerly the Collections of Dinagepoor, which never exceeded 11 or 12 lacks were entirely entrusted to the management of the Zemindar...

In the Bengal Year 1172, we fixed the Bundibust at 78 lacks, the whole of which was collected and paid into the Treasury.*

(p.xxvii) In the Bengal year 1172, the Revenues of Tipperah amounted to 34,945 Rupees, but in 1173 the insurrections of the Zemindar put an entire stop to the Collections, and only 164 Rupees were by severity wrested from his Vacquils stationed at the City. In the year 1174 after the Zemindar was subdued, and had taken to flight, this District became firmly united to Bengal, and it's Revenues have since been under a perpetual increase, so that for this last year the sum of 1,05,748.4 was paid into the Treasury.

Pachite is a resemblance of the foregoing --in the year 1173 when this Province was first subjected and included in Bengal only 7000 Rupees were collected, which has been since augmented to 68,999 Rupees, and in future no attention shall be wanting to make a further increase. What the Company have been pleased to write in praise and commendation of my industry and abilities in affairs of Government, which I exert through a motive of establishing their interest, I look upon as the highest mark of their favour and esteem. By the Blessing of God, I shall never be remiss in testifying my desire for their prosperity and welfare.

13. WHAT WAS COLLECTED HERE WAS SPENT HERE - FROM G.G.DUCAREL, SUPERVISOR, PURNEA TO CONTROLLING COUNCIL, MURSHIDABAD: c. 1770

Pro of the Controlling Council, Murshedabad, Vol 2, p.68, 13.12.1770; omissions in the printed text.

I cannot conclude my Observations on the state and improvements of the Country without remarking that **those points which I have spoken of as erroneous in the Country Government as administered here, appear[ ] me to have been customs of long standing arising from the Man[ner] & Dispositions of the people. They have been gradually losing grou[nd] since our coming to the Dewanny, though less in distant places than [ ] those near the Center of Government.**

The Country has been less flourishing since our Time than heretofore -- the primary Cause is the Difference of Revenue paid -- I cannot find on examining the Records, that except for two years of Cossim Ally's Time this Country ever remitted to the City more than 4 or 5 Lacks of Rs annual Reve[nue]. What was collected here was spent here,* besides the trade being in favour -- and although the Government was bad and property insecure [ ] only changed Hands, the province was not thereby impoverished [ ] Circulation lessened.

14. BRITISH INCREASE LAND TAX FOUR-FOLD: BENGAL, c.1775

Minute of Mr. Higginson, Member Council of Revenue, Burdwan; IOR: G/6/4:- 23.5.1775

Problem created by Revenue Free Assigned Lands; Bengal Presidency: 1775

I cannot conclude the subject of accounting for the failure in the Beerbhoom revenue without observing to you a further evil which is annually increasing in this district. This is the frequent practice which prevails among the ryotts who have cultivated the malguzarry lands to desert at the time of cultivation to the neighbouring petty taluks and other lands which are held free of rents by different grants of government. They are encouraged to it from the low terms which the possessors of these places grant to all ryotts who desert to them which they can well afford ... **it is certainly a great inducement for a ryott to desert [land paying revenue to government] and cultivate these grounds [revenue free assigned lands] when he can obtain them at the rate of four or six annas per bigha, instead of paying from 12 annas to a rupee and a half for malguzarry lands, at which rates the latter are in general valued***. I would beg leave to propose to endeavour to remedy the continuance of this evil by issuing perwannahas, as well from our council as that of Moorshedabad positively restricting all talookdars and possessors of charity lands from inveighling away the ryotts belonging to the malguzarry lands or permitting them to take refuge within their districts under the severest penalties, such as confiscation of their lands &c.

15. POPULOUS AND OPULENT BENGAL BECOMES IMPOVERISHED IN 15 YEARS OF BRITISH CONTROL: c.1773

British Museum: ADD MD 29207: Warren Hastings Papers, ff 96r-96v.

...But to be more particular 1st I answer on the subject of the state of the country with respect to inhabitants, that it was more populous some years ago than it is now. At the time of the late Shujah ud Dowlah, the ryots were in a state of opulence. In the time of Mahabut Jung by reason of the Mahratta troubles, and in the time of Meer Mohd Jaffeir Cawn, and Meer Cassim Cawn by reason of the various disputes, the ryots were impoverished. After this there was a grievous famine during which those who had some substance were reduced to want, and those who had not, died of hunger. With respect to the measures I would recommend *first* let the evils of former times be remedied and *second* let the present rulers apply themselves to this grand object with one voice, and one heart. ...

16. INDULGENT TREATMENT OF THE PEASANT BEFORE BRITISH DOMINANCE AND PRESENT DAY OPPRESSION AND IMPOVERISHMENT: c.1773

British Museum: Add MS 29136: FF 97R-98V, Warren Hastings Papers: Volume 5 of original correspondence. undated and unsigned. Probably from G.Vansittart whose letter of 23.2.1773 precedes this on ff 96.

Second with respect to cultivation, the land is of three kinds and the ryots, have always a proportion of each. **Formerly the rent was small, and the greater quantity the ryots cultivated, the greater profit they made; in consequence of which a great deal of land was cultivated. Now the rents are high and the ryots exceedingly poor*.** The country for this reason is in a bad state of cultivation. It therefore becomes requisite that the rulers should assist them with seed and provisions, moderate their rents, and give them all proper encouragement. A ryot by this means, who has now ten beeghas may be induced to cultivate another five. ...

Fourth with respect to the former method of collecting the revenue in the mofusul, **the zemindars and talookdars used to consider the situation of the ryots and the prospect of the produce, and were very very lenient to such ryots, as had not wherewithal to pay, not demanding the revenue till the harvest; and yet they themselves paid agreeably to their kists. The ryots were consequently easy, and the revenue regularly paid. But the zemindars and talookdars are not now in their former state of affluence, and the ryots are impoverished*.** If you will order the zemindars and talookdars to collect the revenue in the manner, which may be the most easy to the ryots and indulge them with diminution, where the produce is but small, and collect according to the patta on such land only as has yielded a favourable harvest, this will be a comfort to the ryots and an advantage to the country.

... ***Sixth*** with respect to merchants and bankers there were formerly in the country opulent omrahs and munsubdars, and zemindars, and the merchants had some indulgence shown them with respect to duties. They consequently came from distant parts. But now the country is not peopled as it was, nor do any such merchants exist as formerly. Therefore commerce is declined. Was the country to be populous, was there abundance of goods, and was no one to obstruct the merchants, then the merchants would flourish. The success of bankers depended on the abundance of loans and bills and... Formerly when the zemindars and talookdars owed money to the bankers, the Government enforced the payment of it. But now in the Company's time the bankers have been plainly told that their debt could not be recovered for them. For this reason their business is stopt...

17. ALEXANDER READ ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ENGLISH AGRICULTURE

TNSA: THE BARAMAHAL RECORDS (PRINTED): c.1790 Vol 21, pp 116-119

(p.116) 34. To comprehend all the ranks of people maintained by the produce of the soil in other countries it remains to speak of landlords the clergy and the poor. The two latter being amply provided for in these districts as will hereafter appear the present question may be confined to the former. The princes or Government being the only landlords in India excepting Zemindars and Polygars of which there is only one in the ceded districts, all the rents of the cultivating tenants, the subject of the first and second hypothesis, and in the farmers or landholders who are that of the third are deposited in the public treasury whence being issued for the disbursements of the civil, military and commercial departments, they must be tardy in flowing back and a great part never return to be employed as the means of carrying on cultivation. Even in Europe where the most extensive lordships or estates of the nobility and gentry are small compared with kingdoms, and their rents are mostly laid out in rich furniture and equipage, domestic products and in silks, velvets, wines, spices, and other articles imported from abroad, their rents are esteemed in a great measure unproductive to agriculture and on that account overgrown estates are considered detrimental to it and of loss advantage to home manufactures than small ones. How perfectly correspondent that opinion is with the low state of the arts in this country! The great estates in Europe having originated in feudal tenures and the accumulation of fortune by farming being very slow in any country there can be no apprehension of estates becoming too large in India for many centuries, whatever advantages may be allowed to people in that line of life.

35. As granting those proposed to the inhabitants of these districts would occasion such a total change of system, that tho' most arguments that occur for and against it have been adduced that seemed possible without entering too far into details, something more than abstract reasoning may be requisite to carry conviction of its expediency and Great Britain being the most prosperous country in the World, the distribution of its gross produce may be admitted as the best example that can possibly be given. The subjoined statement is therefore (p.117) extracted from the works of the celebrated Mr. Young the receiving which at this very time is no less singular than its fitness for the present design. He estimates *the state and quality of the soil of England and Wales to be*

	ACRES.
Aerable Land	16,000,000
Gross Lands	16,000,000
Barren and uncultivated lands	2,000,000
Total	34,000,000

36. *Population of Agriculture* exclusive of landlords, clergy, parochial poor and manufactures.

Number of men servants	222,996
Maid servants	167,247
Boys	111,498
Laboures	334,494

Men servants and laborers	557,496
Farmers	111,498
By particular estimate	1,505,223

The number of souls according to the average of 15 per œ100 including extra labour is 2,957,490 and deducting the maids and boys in the farmers families part of them being children of the laborers reduces it to 2,800,800 souls.

37. *Product of the Soil*. - This is deduced from the number of acres growing each kind of grain and the products of live stock at their average prices which give the following result.

	£
Wheat and rye	17,476,310
Barley	9,856,423
Oats	7,714,267
Pearse	4,519,865
Beans	3,110,559
Turnips	4,110,559
Clover	1,449,474
Total products of arable crops exclusive of potatoes,cabbages, &c.	**48,237,691**

Cows	7,107,996
Sheep	14,494,740
Wool	694,539
Fatting beasts	7,024,374
Young cattle	2,229,960
Swine	2,508,709
Poultry	334,494
Total products of live stock which including hay sold to towns amounts to about	**35,000,000**
Total product of the soil, except house rent, woods, parks chaces, &c.	**83,237,691**

38. *Expenditure of Husbandry* -

Wages of 222,996 men servants at the average rate of	£ 8-9-9	1,892,675
Their board, &c. at	£ 9-0-0	2,006,964
Wages of 167,247 maid servants at	£ 3-9-0	577,001
Their board at	£ 5-0-0	836,235
Wages of 1,11,498 boys at	£ 3-2-0	345,643
(p. 118) Their board at	£ 6-10-0	724,737
Earnings of 334,494 laborers constantly employed at 7 s. 1 d. per week		6,160,262

Extra labor of men, women and children at harvest, &c.	2,053,420
Total industrious poor or amount of labor	**14,596,937**
Renewal of the stock of draft cattle, farriers, &c.	780,486
Renewal of the stock of horses and oxen	7,024,374
Wear and tear of implements	8,195,103
Repairs of buildings	278,745
Purchase of seed	4,873,308
Interest paid by the farmers on 110,000,000 stock at 4 per cent per annum	4,400,000
Amount of extra charges	**25,552,016**
Total expence of cultivation including the subsistance of the Cultivators, viz., 14,596,937 + 25,552,016	**40,148,953**
Remains net Receipts of articles particularly estimated	43,088,738
Deduct supposed amount of expences less susceptible of calculation	2,484,381
Remainder or surplus which may be demanded as the ground rent	**40,604,357**

39. Income of the soil. Mr.Young makes this to be œ59,601,294 by including under this head 14,596,937 the amount of labor and 4,400,000 the interest of stock but these are included above in the expence of cultivation, to find the surplus 40,604,357 as what may be considered in this country the ground rent which as hereafter will be seen is the *teerwa* or *Sirkar rent* constituting the valuation of lands by the survey - the appropriation of which is the chief subject of information proposed by this digression, and he states the land lords rental to be 16,000,000 which is here, divided into their income and the tax to Government, because supposed to include it.

The farmers profit or income is	18,237,691
The land lords income exclusive of the Land tax	14,000,000
The Land tax to Government	2,000,000
The clergys tythes	5,500,000
The Poors rates	866,666
Total	**40,604,357**

It appears the surplus, or what remains after defraying the expence of cultivation which might be demanded as the cultivating tenants rent is 48 ¼ the farmers profits 21, the landlords income 17, the tax to government 2 ½ the Clergys tythes 6 ½ the poors rates 1 ¼ per cent of the gross product so that rate tythes and tax amounting to 10 ¼ or one eighth of the product of the soil exclusive of woods, timber, inland fisheries, parks and mines of all sorts, which would probably reduce it to a ninth or as the author of the wealth of nations supposes a tenth of the whole, and the amount of profit and income being 38 per cent of the product according to the statement it is more than probable that including woods, &c., it is two fifths of the whole. These two fifths are what proprietors may draw from their estates if they chuse to take them all under their own management, and if they prefer the letting them out to farmers they are sure of nearly one fifth for their own income. This it is that gives lands in (p. 119) England such value that according to Mr. Young who was at great pains to ascertain every point their average sale is 33 ½ years purchase and it is so great a surplus remaining after defraying the expence of cultivation and paying all public demands upon the ground rent that makes land there such good security. A child may infer that the reason of their being no security and of no value in this country is the little that remains to the farmer (for there are no proprietors in sirkar lands) after paying the exorbitant demand of Sirkar.

18. IN ENGLAND THE ENGLISH FARMER HAS 20% OF THE GROSS PRODUCE FOR SUBSISTANCE:

From Capt. Thomas Munro to Col. Alexander Read, Superintendent, Baramahals: Tenkaraikottai, 31.7.1793

Baramahals Records: Printed p.60 (Extract)

...I should also think that you have allowed too much for subsistence and contingencies and my reason for this supposition is the near correspondence of your estimate with the karnams. The flourishing state of Tiruppattur before the war is a sufficient proof that this was not too high; and, if the ryots would then pay the old Kandayam under all the disadvantages of being forced to sell their crops on the ground, of being continually liable to the imposition of arbitrary fines, and of having no kind of security for their property, they ought to be much more liable to pay an equal sum now when they are allowed full time for disposing of their crops, and when they know that not a cash above their rent will be demanded from them. Another cause for my supposing your allowance too great is the comparison of it with that of farmers in England. There I believe the landlord's share of the produce varies from a fourth to an eighth, but I have read somewhere that it is in many places 1/5th. Government's share was also at one time 1/5th. There then remains 3/5th for expense of cultivation and the farmers' allowances, the former of these in a country where ploughing is so laborious cannot well be reckoned less than that of the wet grains here 40 per cent. **The balance left 20 per cent is what the English farmer has for subsistence and contingencies.** The nature of the climate also brings many burdens upon him which are hardly known to the Indian Kumbi, such as coals, clothing, etc. A vellala with a thousand pagodas wears nothing but a turban and kambli, he has no house but a but in which he never lights a lamp. I have too little knowledge of the subject to say positively that you have allowed too much, but, were it ever proved to be so, it is the safe side to err upon for heavy rents ought by every means to be avoided. **You have omitted some trifling articles of the farmer's gains by selling cattle and ghee. This is considerable in some districts. The ghee ij...ra in this district being near 2 per cent of the ground rent shows that a great quantity be sold. You have also in your account of labourers forgotten some of their allowances: Mandai, kalavasam and one balla per candy divided among them by the farmer at harvest. There is no necessity for looking after them; their condition will naturally improve with that of their master.**

19. DEATH TOLL IN MASULIPATAM REGION IN 1791 - 92 HUMAN : 6,56, 974; CATTLE : 2,67,735

Abstracts of the Loss of Inhabitants and Cattle in the Districts Dependent on Masulipatam: 1791 –92

[TNSA: Board of Revenue Proceedings: P/284/49, p.2497, dated 13.5.1793 with letter of 12.9.1792]

Names of the Countries	Inhabitants of all classes dead	Cattle dead
Mugiatore	1,41,682	33,086
Northern and Center Divisions of the Havelly	53,950	34,736
Southern Division	4,874	5,625
Peddapore	1,84,123	74,543
Bettapore (?)	82,937	17,648
Nandigamah	11,370	8,714
Jallapelly (?)	7,018	5,718
Palavaram (?)	16,204	10,366
Jootallah	12,639	8,028
Cotapally	4,851	3,019
Corondah (?)	9,035	7,595
Rajahmahendrapuram	7,430	2,630
Cottah	7,800	3,100
Somapah's Villages	2,306	1,193
Noozeed	96,210	30,720
Char Mahall	16,545	20,015
Total	**6,56,974**	**2,67,735**

A true copy of the translation

20. EXTENSIVE BRITISH USURIAL PRACTICES IN INDIA: MADRAS PRESIDENCY: GOVERNOR HOBART'S MINUTE, c.1795

IOL: Minute of Lord Hobart, Governor, Madras Presidency, 24th October 1795, House of Commons Papers.

The Carnartic exhausted and being led to rapid destruction; HOBART 1795

The proposed arrangements which have been brought into discussion since the death of his Highness *the Nabob Wallajah*, make it necessary for me to advert with more minuteness than has been usual upon the Public Records, to the system on which the Administration of his Revenue has been conducted, because it manifestly shows the necessity of that change which it is my object to accomplish, both in respect to the Country itself, which, though under the immediate control of his Highness, it is the duty of this Government, in a general point of view, to cherish and protect; and in respect to the security which has been pledged to the Company for the support of their Military Establishment, and for the discharge of the Consolidated Debts guaranteed by Parliament to the private creditors of his Highness the Nabob. I shall, therefore, in this Minute lay before the Board the information which I have collected, and the consequent observations which have occurred to me, upon the usurious loans which it has long been the practice (principally among the European Gentlemen of the Presidency) to make to the Durbar, for mortgages upon the different provinces of the Carnatic; and here I may be allowed to express my belief, that though the Honourable Court of Directors have been extremely pointed in their orders and observations against this practice, the continuance of it has been owing in some measure to the want of that candid exposition of the fact, which it is my intention to make.

The Southern Districts of the Nabob's country, and Tinnevelly in particular, as being the most distant from the Presidency, have been the theatre in which these scenes have been chiefly exhibited; but it is notorious that similar practices have been introduced, and are now actually in use, in Nellore, Arcot, and Trichinopoly.

The transaction commences at Madras, where the Kists of his Highness are payable, and is opened by an agreement between the Nabob and some one of the principal houses of business, or even some of the Company's servants for the payment of a certain sum into the Treasury on account of his Highness's public engagements. The advancers of this money, knowing from experience that a simple mortgage would be insufficient security, unless the means of reimbursing themselves should be placed in their own hands, find it necessary not only that a person of their own nomination should be appointed to the management of the mortgaged province, but that there should be a vigilant superintendence and a powerful support of the concern upon the spot, hence the expediency of a connection between them and the military commanding officer in the District; he also finds it advantageous to embark in the speculation, because he thereby adds considerable weight to his own interest, and because it facilitates the means of raising money to carry on his part of the concern. From this connection both parties derive ample security for their money by the absolute power of the one in command upon the spot, and by the weighty influence of the other in command of monied *interest at Madras*. This outline is filled up by a further connection with the person who appears to receive the appointment of *Aumildar or Manager* from the Nabob; hence it is either stipulated that a person chosen by the money lenders at Madras shall be nominated to manage the District, or where men of rank may have already been appointed *as Foujdars* by his Highness, the same effect is produced by a communication between him, the commanding officer, and the money lenders, previous to the agreement for a loan at the Durbar. The combination is in this latter case completed by the appointment of a *Tehseeldar* on the part of the money lenders, and thence forward produces an uniform, consistent, and connected operation. His Highness having by this arrangement obtained his principal object, provision for the payment of his kist, without any immediate disbursement

from himself, delivers his people and his province up to the control and power of the Manager, evidently without regard to their situation; because, as his terms with the money lenders necessarily provide for the removal of all restraint from the governing power, so he must expect that the Manager, who can have no interest in the future prosperity of the Country, will have recourse to every means by which he may hope to bear himself and his connections harmless, and that within the shortest time possible.

The interest allowed by the Sirkar varies in different places, and depends not a little upon the influence which the lender may happen to have at the Durbar: at a medium however it may be stated at 4 per cent per month, besides the pay of all the servants employed by the junto in receiving the Revenue. This last charge is always a fixed sum at the expense of the Nabob, considerably above the actual expense incurred by the Tehseeldar, and the difference is considered amongst the customary advantages of the concern*. The Manager arrived within his District immediately assembles his under Managers, Aumildars, and Renters, and then ensues the second part of this oppressive system:- The Tahseeldar is importunate, and the Manager must find means of satisfying his demands:- subordinate Soukars, native as well as European, are called upon for assistance. The Soukar makes his advance; and in the first instance, the Aumildar or Renter of the Districts, assigned over as security for such advance, grants his bond until other securities shall be forthcoming: these are either the bonds of the Inhabitants or grain. In time about three-fourths of the sum are secured to the Soukar by grain made over to him, and placed under charge of his servants; and for the other one-fourth the bonds of the inhabitants are made over for that part of the Revenue payable by them to the Sircar in ready money upon the cultivation of dry grain, &c. Those are frequently forced from them at the commencement of the season, which consequently compels them to anticipate the crops, and pay interest upon money before it be due from them.

At this period of the transaction the Soukar sends his servants and Peons into the Country, with an order from the Nabob's manager to the guards placed therein to afford every assistance (as it is generally called), but in fact to obey them implicitly in collecting the amount of the bonds from the inhabitants. Anxiety to secure so precarious a property, naturally leads the Soukar to adopt such measures as power enables him, and the custom of the country authorises. Then follows this process: if the Ryot is dilatory in the discharge of his bond he is confined without victuals, beaten with rods and compelled to pay Batta to those very peons and guards who are the means of his confinement and punishment. In this manner, I am credibly informed, that an inhabitant who grants his bond for 100 chuckrums (nearly 40 pagodas) is compelled, before he is released from the consequences, to pay from 110 to 115 chuckrums, according to circumstances. If his credit or his other means is exhausted, which is too often the case, he must necessarily dispose of some part of his stock, which consists of cattle and seed grain.

The first part of the system which I have stated, describes the original cause at the fountain head; in both the considerations of the means which are immediately employed, and of the effect which it may produce upon the future Revenue, is abandoned; and while the grand mover of these effects is at a distance from the scene, and the subordinate instrument is hardened by practice, conscience is lulled to rest by the delusive opiate of interest upon interest.

Thus far I have traced the progress of a loan secured upon the bonds of the inhabitants: it will be not less politic for me to pursue it to the disposal of the Paddy.

The first endeavour of those who are engaged in a concern of this nature is, to enhance the price of grain by artificial means, lest the ordinary price of that article, the sole subsistence of the natives, should fail to answer the large advance of money and the exorbitant advantage expected upon it by the Soukar. The means of effecting this purpose is easy; for the necessitous condition of the Ryots compels them to dispose of their grain as soon as it comes into their possession, in order to satisfy the urgent demands upon them which I have already described: the purchasers of this grain monopolize it until the demand,

which increases with the consumption, advances the price: if, towards the expiration of the season, any part of the grain should yet remain on hand, the expedient is, to divide the whole quantity, in whatever condition it may be, among the inhabitants, and to force it upon them by Guddyum. This Guddyum, it appears, compels the people (in general the manufacturers) to receive grain at a valuation considerably above the market price; and it would seem to be of ancient establishment and current practice; for in the agreement which I was successful in negociating with his late Highness Nabob Walajah, for placing a portion of the Tinnevelly weavers under the immediate superintendence of the Company's Resident, his Highness has expressly reserved, nor could he be prevailed upon to relinquish, the Right of his Sirkar to exercise this Guddyum.

The inferior servants of the Sircar, whose duty should be to watch over the public interests, are placed under the arbitrary control of the money Lenders without whose permission not an anna can be expended nor a measure of grain issued, except by stealth: indeed I understand, that upon the arrival of a Soukar or his Representative in a Mortgaged District, the usual custom is, to notify his authority throughout the villages, and to prohibit the expenditure of grain or money but by his order; this prohibition extends to the ordinary charges of pagodas, maniums, and sibbendy; and when an order is granted from the Sudder Cutcherry for any of these purposes, the persons receiving the Sunnud must wait at the Cutcherry of the money lender for a confirmation of his right.

Instead of receiving relief by Tukavy (or advances for cultivation) at the proper season, by which to replace their cattle, and to provide seed for extending their cultivation, the inhabitants are often obliged to sacrifice both to their own immediate wants and the rapacity of the Soukar; of course no system of regulation can prevail, and every hope of improvement must be relinquished. Some of the means for enhancing the price of grain I have already related, but the subject is exhaustless. The Poligars have been prevented by the Manager of Tinnevelly from selling within the Sirkar lands the grain which is allowed them for Dash Cavelly (or watching fees); and I should hesitate to advance, if I was not supported by the authority of public record, that during a late scarcity of grain in the southern provinces, Ektabar Khan, the Nabob's Manager, had the hardiness to write a public complaint to the Company's Collector against the Poligars for selling grain to the inhabitants; nor was the evil removed without the interposition of this Government, who, by sending vessels loaded with grain, induced the monopolizers, from regard to their own interest, to restore their usual supplies to the market: yet did the Company not escape the effects of this monopoly, for they were reduced to the necessity of purchasing grain at the price to which the monopolizers had raised it, for the subsistence of those troops who were stationed there for the protection of his Highness's territories.

After this exposition no comment can be required to show that this species of Government, if it deserves the name of Government, contains the most grievous oppression of the people, the certain impoverishment of the Country, and consequently the inevitable decay of Revenue; but it will be useful to show the particular manner in which it affects the resources of his Highness the Nawaub.

It is estimated, and I believe not with exaggeration, that the Province of Tinnevelly alone is annually mortgaged upon the terms I have described, to the amount of 3,00,000 pagodas; and calculating the period for which interest is paid upon the whole sum, at six months, the amount of interest, at 4 per cent. per months is, *72,000*

The charges paid by the Sirkar for
the Sibbendy of the money lenders,
during that period, cannot
amount to less than *3,000*

The amount of loss therefore to the
Sirkar, on this transaction is, pagodas *75,000*

That an individual gentleman should, in less than three years, amass a fortune of more than œ 50,000, would be a matter of wonder, if this statement did not at the same time afford a solution of the difficulty, and a proof of its own correctness.

But the scene is not closed here: Besides the dealings of the principal Soukars with the Head Manager, there are subordinate transactions of *similar* nature among the inferior officers, and those who possess but smaller means for usurious practices, amounting in all perhaps from fifty thousand to a lakh of pagodas; this brings an additional expense upon the Sirkar, because interest is allowed on all advances made by the Renters on pressing occasions, before the Kists are due, and on the other hand, the inhabitants are not exempt from a part of this expense, which is imposed upon them by fine, forfeiture, or guddyum, in order that he may be enabled to make the advance, upon which he receives interest.

As the Manager is under engagements to pay the fullest computed value of the district, he is justified, according to the custom of the country, in availing himself of every possible resource. A proportion of the church [Temples, Chattrams, Mathams] allowances is withheld; the pay of all descriptions of servants is kept in long arrear, and in particular the Sibbendy Sepoys: a small advance indeed, is sometimes made for subsistence; but their principal resource (and it is not unproductive) is in the Batta, which they receive by acknowledged practice while doing the duty of Sezawuls, and in the dexterous management of the power which that service gives them to extort presents for their forbearance. The manager knows from experience, that in the event of assuming the Country, the English Government will be induced, either from motives of humanity to attend to the calls of these unhappy people, or from motives of policy to satisfy the clamours of a mutinous and undisciplined rabble. Thus at the very time when the exigencies of Government became most pressing, a part of their resources, which ought to be immediate, is appropriated to the liquidation of arrears.

If this is a true history of the present management, it may be asked, why an immediate and large defalcation of the Revenue does not follow; for the operation of such system as I have described tends directly to the point of ruin. Nothing less than the hand of arbitrary power could avert it, even for a time. In proportion as the means of cultivation decrease, the price of grain is enhanced; and it is a notorious but inhuman maxim of Eastern finances, that a year of scarcity is more productive than a year of plenty to the Sirkar; because, as a given number of mouths can only consume a proportionable quantity of grain, the immediate advantage or disadvantage of government arises from the price at which that given quantity is sold. -- In years of plenty the superfluous grain is in a great measure useless, owing to the partial and difficult means of exportation:-- in years of scarcity the same given quantity is required for the subsistence of the people; and as the demand is greater than the supply, an increase of the price is produced by the usual effects of a competition in the market.

Though the dealings of Soukars in the collection of the Revenue are not of recent establishment, yet the terms of loans have never been carried to so usurious an extent as since the practice has been introduced among Europeans; and though the inevitable effects of it may be protracted by the harsh expedients of an arbitrary Government, yet no man who reflects upon such a system can doubt that the resources of the Country have been undermined; that the Wealth of the people is exhausted; and that a principle of decline has been established which is now precipitating the Carnatic, with accumulated weight and rapidity, to destruction. Impressed as I am with a serious conviction of this truth, I cannot but look with extreme anxiety to the nature of the security provided by the Treaty of 1792, for those resources on which the British interests on the Coast of Coromandel materially depend; I cannot but see that the present system of collecting the Revenues of the Carnatic manifestly invalidates that security, and that, whenever a failure may happen in the payment of his Highness's Kists, we shall in vain have recourse to it for the recovery of the defalcation. As those payments, though avowedly moderate in their extent are now

kept up by the extraordinary means which I have described, so it is reasonable to suppose that a failure, whenever it may happen, will arise from the total impoverishment of the people. In taking possession of a District under such circumstances, for the amount of a Kist which will then have fallen in arrear, we shall, instead of finding the immediate means of reimbursement, become charged with an exhausted Country, requiring all the liberal assistance and fostering attention of a lenient and indulgent Government. It is not only that our means will be curtailed at our greatest need, but that humanity and policy will call upon us for advances of money, at a time when our expenses will be most burthensome. This is an embarrassment from which the known resources of this Government are unequal to extricate us; and it is a dilemma unprovided for by the Treaty of 1792; for the objects of that Treaty are, the payment of a debt guaranteed by Parliament, which we are not at liberty to postpone: and the discharge of military pay, which cannot be interrupted without danger to the State.

To avert the consequences of an evil big with such imminent danger, is an object that merits the most serious as well as the most unwearied attention of this Government: and it is a matter of very great mortification to me, that seeing the progress of this calamity, and anticipating as I do its pestiferous effect, I am compelled to acknowledge, that the means of arresting its course is extremely difficult.

The prohibitory orders hitherto published have all failed of their object, because the evasion of them is easy to Europeans, through the agency of their native servants, and because the enormous profits, which arise from those usurious loans, hold out an irresistible temptation to adventurers. To prohibit the intercourse of Europeans at the Durbar is ineffectual; - other channels of communication are open; and the superintendent of an usurious loan at Palamcotah, conveys his demands to the ears of the Nabob with no less certainty than he who lives in the precincts of Chepauk: as long therefore as his Highness shall be so regardless of his true interests, as to deliver up his *provinces* and his people to public depredation, so long will there be found men who, in the pursuit of extravagant advantages, will overleap the bounds of discretion and of moral obligation.

So desperate a malady requires a remedy that shall reach its source; and I have no hesitation in stating my opinion, that there is no mode of eradicating the disease but by removing the original cause, and placing those Districts which are pledged for the security of his Kists beyond the reach or his Highness's management. The disposition which his Highness has already evinced to support such an arrangement, leaves me in no doubt of the real cause. It is not possible to calculate the extent and variety of interests which are involved in this one pursuit; and though they are subdivided in every direction of the Carnatic, yet at the call of danger they all rally round a common centre. The great houses of business, who are the principal money lenders at the Durbar, borrow from individuals, who, though not absolutely engaged in the loan itself, are partakers of the speculation in a remote degree, and feel with no less sensibility than their principals the approach of danger: similarity of interest makes it a common cause; and the great body of influence which is condensed upon this principle, is uniformly exerted to support his Highness the Nabob in an inflexible resistance against a melioration of system, and to oppose a reformation which I consider essential to the national welfare.

In the proposition which I have made to his Highness the Nabob, I am aware that I have offered great concessions on the part of the Company; but, with the impression of the evils I have stated strongly on my mind, I could not but consider the object I had in view above every idea of a pecuniary nature, even if the system of the Nabob's Government was not in itself calculated completely to annihilate every source of Revenue.

21. WE HAVE RODE THE COUNTRY TOO HARD; GREAT OPPRESSION EXERCISED RESULTING IN LAMENTABLE POVERTY: MADRAS GOVERNOR BENTINCK: c. 1804

Nottingham University: PwJb 772: from pp 272-283

Lord William Bentinck, Governor Madras, to Lord Castlereagh, President Board of Control Oct 18, 1804

I have paid a great deal of attention to the revenue management in this country. Your Lordship will perceive, if your leisure can permit you to attend to any of our details, that the general tenor of my opinion is, that we have rode the country too hard, and the consequence is, that it is in a state of the most lamentable poverty. Great oppression is I fear exercised too generally in the collection of the Revenues. I have discovered some instances of it, and I have thought it expedient to make examples of those Collectors who were responsible for better management and more just government...

22. THOMAS MUNRO TO BOARD OF REVENUE ON HOUSE TAX OR INCOME TAX: 28.1.1805

MRO: BR Misc Vol. 31, ff 56-75v, Extract: ff 71r - 76v

21. The statement No. 6 shews amount of house rent collected last year in the ceded districts and other sum which it is proposed to add to it if the Board shall think a further extension of that tax advisable. As the Minute of the Right (p.71v) Hon'ble the Governor in Council dated the 2nd of November last specifies that his view in imposing a general house tax is to make up for the remission of town duties, I have made an addition to the house rent hitherto levied, equal to the estimated amount of those duties. But as the house rent is already sufficiently heavy upon those who pay it, I have assessed the whole of the increase upon those who either from caste, from poverty or from other causes are exempted from the tax. Though a house tax is a more simple and less expensive mode than a town duty on commodities for raising certain revenue, and though from the smallness of the sum to be paid by each individual it may appear that it could not be burdensome even to the poorest, yet I apprehend that if it is carried into effect it will be found to be a worse tax than a town duty. The house tax in the ceded districts can only be rendered more productive by making it more general than it is at present. If it is made more general, it must fall upon Brahmins, Mussalmans, and other privileged castes, who have never been subjected to it under any government, and who according to their own expression have never paid it since the beginning of the world. And it must also fall upon the lower orders of every caste who have enjoyed an exemption on account of their poverty. The privilege of Mussalmans has no doubt arisen from their entering this country as conquerers (ff 72r), and that of Brahmins, Rajpoots and some other castes from their supposed superior sanctity, or dignity. The exemption from house rent is considered by them as an hon'ble distinction. The imposition of it will therefore be regarded with abhorrence as confounding them with the lowest castes. And the amount of the tax however insignificant will be called oppressive because it is degrading. The tax too, however low would be heavy on the lower orders, and would be with difficulty realised; for, except in the great towns labourers almost every where receive their wages in kind, and they would often be distressed by being obliged to convert a part of it into money to pay their house rent. They would look upon it as an additional tax, for they would never consider that they had formerly paid more as a town duty on the articles which they consumed. The house tax, however notwithstanding the objections to it might no doubt without any great difficulty be universally established. But I cannot think that the object in view is of sufficient importance to be purchased at the price of the popularity of Government, and the prejudices of the people; and though it is evident that the house tax would be less than the town duties now actually paid by the individuals of every caste, and description of inhabitants, yet this could never be (ff 72v) comprehended by the mass of the people, and would therefore never be felt, or acknowledged as a benefit. But independent of ancient prejudices there are some other considerations which render a town duty preferable to an extention of the house tax. The town duty is perfectly voluntary. It is not perceived, for it is confounded with the price of the article. It is not paid by arbitrary instalments, but only at the times that it is found convenient to purchase. A part of it may be saved by diminishing consumption, which cannot be done in the case of a house tax. It falls more equally than a house tax, for it is exactly in proportion to consumption, one advantage which no possible modification of the house tax can ever attain.

A tax to be properly a house tax should be composed of the rent of the ground occupied by the house, and of a tax on the rent for which the house can be let. But such a tax would not produce one-fifteenth part of what is now actually collected as house rent. The ground of the largest house would not yield one fanam as rent, and that of most houses not a quarter of a fanam. Houses in the interior cannot be hired as in the great towns can be on the coast, or in Europe; and can therefore yield no profit to the owner. Hence it appears that what is now called house tax is something else. (ff 73r)

It is undoubtedly a tax upon income, and of the highest antiquity. The Brahmins who have in all ages directed the revenue were probably led to adopt it from perceiving that they could not raise the duties on commodities without taxing themselves, and the other privileged castes in consumption, and that the rich merchants and manufacturers could not by any other expedient be made to contribute in proportion to their means to the necessities of the state. Whatever might have been the origin of this tax it is a productive one, and easily collected. The amount is regulated by long usage. The gross sum for each town is fixed in the cutcherry, and the different classes of tradesmen settle among themselves the proportion to be brone by each individual according to his supposed ability of which they are always the best judges. Were this tax to be abolished under the idea of its being personal, or vexatious it would be impossible to find another which could with equal ease to the inhabitants yield so great a revenue. There amy be a few instances in which it is personal, or professional; but with these exceptions it is in all other cases an income tax. It has been already observed that houses cannot be let for rent, and that the rent of the ground which they occupy would be very trifling. It is therefore plain that if they are (ff 73v) made to yield a considerable revenue, the chief part of it must arise from a personal-professional, or income tax. Rayets paying land rent are in general exempted from the house tax because as their whole income arises from their land, it is supposed that when they pay the rent of it they have paid all that ought to be demanded. It is however the practice in some districts to make them pay a house tax of about a quarter of a rupee annually on pretence of their being exempted from duty on the produce of their lands, and on some other articles when purchased within the limits of their own districts. Rayets also who are employed as yearly servants or day labourers pay a small part of the profit of labour as a house tax.

All weavers pay a house tax whether they work for others, or on their own accounts, or employ workmen. It is usually called a loom tax, but it is in fact a tax on income for though it is also proportionate to the quantity of the manfacture, and the supposed profit of the trade. If income is to be taxed it seems but reasonable that the weavers should pay his share as well as the merchant, or shopkeeper.

The houses which pay no rent are (ff 74r) about 3/4 of the whole number in the ceded districts, but as they belong either to privileged castes, or to the poorer sort of other castes, a considerable revenue could not be drawn from them without, in the one case exciting discontent, and in the other occasioning some distress. A town duty is much more expensive in the collection, but as it is cheerfully paid and against no prejudice, it ought to be preferred to an extension of the house tax. It has not even at the present rate 6% been prejudicial to the general trade of the country in any article but that of cloth. It has like every other comprehensive arrangement affected some particular interests, and excited some clamour. But this must be expected in every such measure. On the present occasion I see no cause for complaint except in the case of cloth. If the trade in any other article has actually suffered the evil may be easily removed by some alteration of the duty.

22. The statement of the house tax is itself so full that it requires very little explanation. A great proportion of the houses in India are actually Sirkar property. Almost all the houses of Rayets, and many of those merchants and manufacturers have no private owners. The house of a Rayet is only his while he remains in it. If he removes to anothre village, it is given to the (ff 74v) first new settler who comes, whether cultivator, or tradesman. Many tradesmen employ houses of this kind which they sometimes for their own convenience repair, or enlarge. But if they quit them from an increase of rent, or any other cause they cannot sell them; for they again immediately become public property.

The frequency of emigration, and the danger to which the building of a good house exposes the owner of being fined on account of his supposed wealth under the native governments, have prevented the erection of comfortable habitations. The houses of the inhabitants are therefore in general very mean, and there is seldom any great difference between those of the rich and the poor. The house which had been built by a merchant is frequently occupied by a common husbandman, and that which had been deserted by a weaver inhabited by a merchant. hence it arises that the size of the houses affords no just rule for the taxing its occupant. I have therefore paid no attention to the house itself but regulated the tax by the estimated consumption of taxable articles by the inhabitant, and by his ability to pay it.

The whole of the inhabitants are divided into three classes, and each caste, or progession in those classes is again sub-divided into three according to their wealth, or poverty. The first class contains (ff 75r) merchants, shopkeepers, Bramins, and all those castes whose income and expenditure are greatest. The second, husbandmen, weavers, artificers, etc., whose expenditure is less, and the third all the poorer and meaner castes, and professions. The mode by which the rich and poor of the same caste, or trade are distinguished is shewn in the statement and will be easily understood from one or two examples. The Buckals, for instance are divided into three orders. In the first are comprised all those who are shopkeepers, in the second those who have not shops but go about the country as irinerant traders with merchandise on a bullock, or on their own back; and in the third those who have neither shop, nor merchandise, but are employed as servants, or coolies. In the caste of Lingbuljiwars, the first order comprehends wholesale merchants, or those who import betelnuts, cotton, etc. in the gross. The second, shopkeepers, and the third, bullockmen. In the first order of Bramins are included Meerasdars, such as curnums, and proprietors of large Enams, in the second all who are in service, or rent land, and in the third Bhutwurties, or holders of small Enams, and beggars. And in the caste of Coonbies, or husbandmen (No. 28) the first order is composed of landholders; the second of fixed servants, and thr third of day labourers. Among the castes who are subjected to the house tax there are a few individuals (ff 75v) who have always been exempted from it for other causes besides poverty. The Shetties, or headmen of the Buckalls-Buljiwars, and other castes are excused as a mark of distinction. The Moossedies, who is a sort of deputy to the Shetty, is also exempted on the same account. Both these belong to the first order. In the second order the WSuntakoolie is exempted because he lodges, and prepares food for travellers of the caste. It would be endless to pint out the reasons of every particular exemption. But I trust that the inhabitants will still be permitted to enjoy the little privileges, and distinctions to which they are so much attached, and that a town duty rather than a general house tax will be adopted as the medium of increasing the revenue.

Munro to Board of Revenue on Tax on Houses in Ceded Districts: 25.8.1805:

BRO: BR Misc. Vol 32, Anantpoor, 25 August 1805, ff 13v-49v; Extract: ff 30r

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16. (19) The taxes on houses and trades included in the land rent shall be collected as at present subject however to such reduction in their rates as Government may deem expedient.

23. THOMAS MUNRO'S FAVOURITE TAXES MOHTURFA AND VISABUDDY c.1805 NOT EVEN BEGGARS REMAIN UNTAXED LONDON CONSIDERS THEIR ABANDONMENT AND REPLACEMENT BY OTHER FUTURE TAXES.

IOL: Revenue Department, 5 November (No. 17) 1856.

Our Governor General of India in Council.

Para 1. YOUR letter in this department, dated the 28' th February last (No.5) reports to us the final result of your deliberations on the subject of the revision or abolition of the Mohturfa and Veesabuddy (taxes on professions, trades, artificers, houses, &c.), under the presidency of Fort St.George.

2. This question has been the subject of discussion and correspondence between the Government of Madras, your Government, and ourselves, for the last 12 years; and after an inexcusable delay on the part of the Madras authorities in furnishing the information which had been repeatedly called for the case was at length put in a shape sufficiently complete for decision in the proceedings of the Madras Board of Revenue, dated the 27th March 1848.

3. In a minute dated the 12th September 1848, Mr. Daniel Elliot reviewed the whole question at considerable length, and arrived at the conclusion that the admitted evils of the system might be eradicated to a great extent by a modification of the rates, and a change in the mode of collection; and he offered various suggestions, with this object. In a subsequent minute, however, under date the 5th May 1853, he states that a further consideration of the question had induced a change in his views; and he avows that, "feeling more sensibly the difficulty of the proposed reform, and, indeed, almost despairing of the possibility of success in it, and being very strongly pressed by the consideration of the disadvantage that this Presidency will be under, if it is left subject to taxes of this nature, from which Bombay has been relieved, and which do not obtain in Bengal, his opinion is now for the entire abolition of this revenue."

4. Mr.J.F.Thomas (Minute dated 23d April 1853) considers that "it is not practicable to find a remedy for the abuse which exist under it" and, in the event of its abolition, does not doubt that the loss of revenue would, at no distant date, be made good to the State from the increasing numbers and prosperity of the non-agricultural classes. "Their advancing wealth," he says, "would extended the market and enhance the value of all products of the land, and better prices would then be obtained by the ryot, and greater stability be thus given to the land revenue. I should not hesitate, therefore, to counsel the entire abolition of the mohturfa taxes, in a financial point of view, as well as upon the ground of the evils and abuses inherent in them".

5. Of all the members of the Madras Government, the Governor alone (Sir H. Pottinger) advocates the retention of any portion of the mohturfa taxes. The admissions made in his minute of the 28th April 1853, go far, however, in our opinion, to nullify his conclusions and the numerous modifications which he proposes would, if carried out, still leave many of the inequalities untouched, and most of the opening for abuse unclosed, as they exist under the present system.

6. These proceedings were laid before your Government, with a letter dated the 26th May 1853; but the matter was not taken into consideration till the 31st December 1855, when the Marquis of Dalhousie recorded a minute, in which, after explaining his reasons for delay in disposing of the subject, he expresses himself in the following words; **"The mohturfa taxes, as a whole, are indefensible in principle. They are a direct tax upon humble industry. They press upon the poorest of the people. They press with an unequal pressure. They are felt sensibly; felt as an obnoxious burden; and they give unbounded scope to the worst of all the vexations which we see and detest, but cannot eradicate the petty opression of petty native officials"**.* His Lordship accordingly came to the conclusion that "the mohturfa taxes should be abolished, wholly and unreservedly;" but looking to the actual financial condition of the Indian Empire he suggested that their abolition should be deferred until the present extraordinary pressure should be removed so as to admit to the revenue the produce being relinquished with safety.

7. Lord Dalhousie's views were concurred in by Mr.Dorin, but the three other members of Council, Mr.J.P.Grant, Mr.Peacock, and General Anson, pronounce in favour of their immediate abolition.

8. The mohturfa taxes were abolished in Bengal in 1793, and in Bombay in 1844; and even Mysore, in the heart of the Madras Presidency, is exempted from them. Their average net produce is from 11 to 12 lacs of rupees per annum.
(Side Note: Bellary, Cuddapah, Tinnevely, Malabar)

9. The arguments in favour of the abolition of these taxes appear to us to be irresistible. They are confined to one Presidency which is subject to at least as heavy a pressure of taxation as any other part of India; and even there, whole districts and parts of districts as well as particular classes of people are entirely exempt. They are most unequally distributed over the districts subject to them, four only of the twenty collectorates into which the Presidency is divided, contributing upwards of half the total amount. The assessment is arbitrary, irregular, and undefined, resting (except as regards the veesabuddy of the Ceded Districts) on no law but merely on ancient usage, and thus affording to the native officers employed in their collection ample opportunities of oppression and extortion, of which it is in evidence that they largely avail themselves.

10. We are perfectly satisfied that no modification of the existing system can be devised which would divest it of its objectionable character, and **we accordingly convey to you our authority to direct its total abolition, at such time and in such manner as may seem to you expedient.***

11. **It has been suggested in the course of the discussion, that the Mohturfa might be so regulated as to convert it into a house tax or a income tax, or into both combined. Such taxes, if fairly assessed, may be unobjectionable in principle; and, as Mr.Dorin suggests, some similar imposts may hereafter be found unavoidable as a measure of financial necessity throughout India**.* In the present case, however, any such conversion of the Mohturfa taxes would be open to the fatal objection, that it would be continuing to subject the Presidency of Madras to a system of taxation, from which the rest of India would be free; but in thus relieving our native subjects from the payments of imposts which in their mode of collection under our administration have proved oppressive, you will bear in mind that, with the prospect of a reduction also in the amount of the land -tax, you will require to take into your immediate consideration the means of obtaining revenue from other sources, and to notify to those who derive advantage from the remission of the mohturfha, that such is the intention of our Government.

12. With respect to the suggestion of Mr.J.P.Grant, to which you have called our attention, for an increase in the rates of import duty at all the Presidencies, to compensate for the loss of revenue to be occasioned by the abolition of the mohturfha, we must observe that such a measure must be considered, if at all, on its own merits, and not in connexion with the question discussed in this despatch. Mr. Grant has inadvertently stated the general rate of import duty at 3 1/2 per cent and valorem, instead of 5 per cent, to which amount it was raised under our orders by Act IX of 1845.

13. We shall communicate a copy of this despatch to the Government of Fort St. George for their information.

We are, &c.
(signed) W. H. Sykes
R.D. Mangles.

London, 3 November 1856.

25. RACK-RENTING IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY ON INSISTENCE FROM LONDON: MADRAS BOARD OF REVENUE MINUTE, PARA 288, 5.1.1818

IOR: P\292\53: proceedings of the Madras Board of revenue: Minute 5.1.1818 (pp,21-337: 308 paras) The minute is a general review of the British revenue arrangements in the Madras Presidency from the fomal acquisition of the various areas (much of it being actually controlled or dominated and thus being managed in revenue affairs according to British needs and precepts dated back to around 1750) to the time of the minute. London took strong exception to the charge of extortion (especially in para 288) and rack-renting made in it and compelled Madras to withdraw what had been expressed.

Para 286. "The village settlement, however, though it commenced by fixing the assessment on each village, and making over the lands to the people collectively, or to head of the village, expressly contemplated, its gradual subdivision and distribution, not indeed upon each field, but upon the entire land of each Ryot; and consequently the gradual conversion of the collective into an individual settlement, wherever the interests of the village community would admit of this change. One of the chief advantages of the ryotwar system was thus engrafted on the village settlement, but the measure was not to be universally or immediately introduced; the people were not to be constrained to adopt an arrangement, which however abstractedly expedient, was in a great number of the provinces at variance with the landed tenure, the ancient institutions, and the circumstances of the inhabitants. It was hoped that as their means improved the obstacles to this arrangement would be overcome; and accordingly it was to be rather promoted then introduced by the collectors".

Para 287: "The judgement which has been pronounced in England against the village system, of which the outline is given above, is founded on a very partial and unfavourable view of its results; for it does not appear that the authorities at home had, at the time when that judgement was passed, any information before them respecting any other portion of it than its commencement, the triennial settlement. It is hoped that the Reports which have since been forwarded, in elucidation of the effect of the decennial settlement, will enable them to form a more correct opinion of the tendency of the village system".

Para.288. Nothing, however, that has been urged at home, appears to contravene any of the fundamental principles of the village system. The whole of the evils arising from the triennial settlement, or which have been attributed to it, may distinctly be traced, not to its intrinsic principles, but to its over-assessment, which it must be allowed has been justly condemned; for it was nearly everywhere a mere rack rent. **Under the pressing orders received from England, about that period, requiring from the country a surplus revenue of a million sterling, accompanied by a threat from the hon'ble court of directors [i.e., actually by the British state] to take the revision of the establishments into their own hands, not only was the most rigid economy inforced in all departments of the state, but the triennial settlement of each village where the Ryotwar system had existed was too generally determined with "reference to the payments under the survey rent", in other words, with reference to the collections under the ryotwar system,(see report of the Board of Revenue to Government dated 25 April 1808) when all was taken from the people that they were able to pay***. The over assessment during this period, therefore, arose from the triennial settlement having in great degree been founded upon the fallacious data of the Ryotwar collections, and if any inference is to be drawn from this circumstance it is one against the Ryotwar, not against the Village settlement.

Para 289: "This practical error, with some other of a similar nature which had inadvertently crept into the triennial settlement, and are attributable entirely to a deviation from its principles, was in general avoided in the decennial settlement, which as embracing a longer period and a greater vicissitude of seasons, is the standard by which a fair judgement may be formed of the results of a village system".

Para 290: "To take a complete review of the result of this settlement would extend the already voluminous proceedings to too great a length. Referring therefore for particular information to the late report of the Board on this subject, it will here be sufficient briefly to state that, although this system has not been equally successful in every district, yet even where (as in Bellary) it has been the least so, the collectors are unanimous in opinion that it has most materially improved the condition of the great agricultural population of the country and that it is the great body of the Ryots and not the mere parties with whom the settlement was concluded. The Ryotwar teerwas have nearly everywhere been greatly reduced, and instead of head Ryots oppressing their inferiors most of the collectors have been obliged to prop their weakened authority by that of their Tahsildars. This without any material exception, is the universal language of all their reports, and it is a result which may be confidently offered as conclusive evidence that the system has generally answered the expectation of those by whom it was introduced. But where the settlement has been best conducted, as in Cuddapah and the Northern division of Arcot, a picture of prosperity is drawn, of which the parallel may in vain be sought for throughout the revenue records of this Presidency".

26. PASSING OF LAND FROM THE PEASANTRY TO COMMERCIAL CLASSES RESULTING FROM BRITISH POLICY SINCE 1760s AND SEEMED NATURAL AND WELCOME TO CANARA COLLECTOR: c. 1833

TNSA: A50(D) 189: Reports of Commissioner John Stokes (12-1-1833/17-1-1833) etc. On revision of Assessment and the disturbances known as Koots in Canara etc. (pp. 117), Commercialisation of land welcomed by the British, c.1833 - Selection from the records of the Collector of South Canara, Pub 1885.

33. The particular process which appears to be going on in Canara, seems such as might have been expected. It has been observed, that a good deal of the land is passing from the hands of the exclusively agricultural to the commercial classes. The acquisition of land will, of course, follow the accumulation of capital. It is hardly to be expected that much wealth could be amassed in the pursuit of agriculture alone, even were the ryots a more frugal race than they are. They almost universally live up to their incomes, and frequently outrun them. They are wasteful, and improvident, fond of squandering money in idle shows, or indulgences; and what they do not spend, they either hoard, or convert into ornaments, a mode of investment, which affords no return, and but bad security. When they have occasion to raise money they thoughtlessly submit to ruinous terms, forestal their crops, and soon involve themselves in irretrievable embarrassment. The ryots generally and especially the Sudra castes, seem rather deficient in natural sagacity, and few of them have the benefit of even the first rudiments of education. In all these respects, their habits and character are strikingly contrasted with those of the commercial class. The latter are generally of foreign extraction; and a great majority of them, as well as many of the public servants, are Brahmans, who, attracted by the extensive trade, or other causes, have originally emigrated from Goa and the rest of the Concan.

They are settled all along the coast, and almost monopolise the internal as well as the export commerce of the country; all the merchants in Canara are more or less educated, and seem to be sufficiently expert and assiduous as men of business; and the Concanies, in particular, are characterised by acuteness and intelligence. It is not surprising that men of this stamp in the general struggle for wealth, should be successful competitors with the simple and ignorant farmers with whom they have to deal.

34. The circumstance that Soucars and public servants are supplanting the original landed proprietors of Canara, has been noticed as matter of regret, but I can discern no good reason to view it in that light. The evil resulting from it is, I think, almost but speculative; and it is attended with many positive advantages both to the country, and the Government. It should be considered as an evidence, not so much of the depression of the old moolgars, as of an accession of capital to the landed interest, the beneficial results of which are many and obvious. Estates in the occupation of capitalists can be brought to a pitch of improvement far beyond what they ever could attain under the management of a needy proprietor. The former can thus afford to pay a greater sum to Government, and still enjoy a larger net income. His tenants are likely to be treated with more indulgence and consideration, and to be more secure and independent in their farms. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether the circumstances of a ryot, as an impoverished vurgdar, are more enviable, than as the tenant of a wealthy land-lord. The estates, known to belong to Soucars or public servants, are, as has already been noticed, usually assessed at the full amount, which is realized with greater ease and regularity than in any other case.

35. Frequent complaints have been made of the usurious and extortionate dealings of the Soucars, which it has been proposed to check by legislative enactment; and the complaints are probably well founded. We can scarcely expect it should be otherwise, where men are influenced so much by self interest, and so little by moral considerations. But this is not an evil to which it would be politic on the part of

Government to attempt the application of a remedy. The class with whom the soucars are contrasted, can scarcely claim a larger share of our sympathy for they are not morally superior, while they are inferior in most other respects. When they know how, they seem quite as ready as the Soucars to over-reach their neighbours by dishonest artifice. Any peculiar protection to them would counteract rather than assist the law of nature; by which all evils of this kind have a tendency, if left to themselves, to work their own cure.

The wisest course for Government is to abstain from interference, and to look for a remedy in the gradual spread of enlightenment; and in extended competition among the commercial body. In the meantime, any legal restrictions on the dealings of the Soucars would be nugatory as to the attainment of the object proposed, and in many other respects, injurious; but on this subject it is not necessary to add any thing to the judicious remarks already in the records[#] of the Board.

36. One fact that has been referred to by those who have complained of the heaviness of the assessment and almost the only unquestionable one, is the fall in prices, especially of rice, the staple commodity of the province. The effect of this reduction, so long as it continued must necessarily have been to increase the pressure of the assessment, and in some cases, to occasional distress. To this cause, I think, must be mainly attributed the great outcry from the provinces of the Western Coast, during the last few years. On this subject I shall extract part of a remark of Col. Munro already referred to. "There is always[**] much clamour among the land holders, when the price of produce is low, but, with the exception of a few years, it has been higher than under the Mysore Government. Many of the poorer land holders, however, suffer from a cheap season, without benefitting much from a dear one, because they sell early before the price rises much and there are therefore every year a few who must have remission or sell their lands. The same thing would happen, were the assessment lowered one half." A fall in prices is not an adequate reason for permanently reducing a fixed assessment, at all events, until we know that the fall is a permanent one. Temporary relief is all that is required in the meantime, and this has been amply afforded in Canara.

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37. Allusion has frequently been made, in connection with this subject, to what has been termed the Sircar or settlement price. It has been urged that the price obtained by the ryots for some years has been much less and that they must therefore necessarily have found it difficult to pay the assessment. Mr.Cameron has mentioned the subject in his Letter to me of the 27th February, and I have noticed it in remarking on the passage. It does not appear clearly when or on what data this price was assumed. I believe it is the rate at which the rent produce of the estates has been calculated in the Revenue Accounts for the several Taluks, in reference to which the annual alterations in the Settlement are regulated.

In some passages[##] it appears to be spoken of as the rate at which the payment in grain were originally commuted into money. I am not aware on what authority this tradition rests; but considering the time which has elapsed since the commutation referred to took place, its correctness seems rather doubtful. Admitting the rate quoted, to be that at which the existing money assessment was calculated, and the price on an average for the last two or three seasons to have been less, it does not necessarily follow, that the assessment may not be collected without undue severity. The rate of commutation assumed in calculating an assessment intended to be permanent, would probably be the medium rate of all kinds of rice for a series of years; and it would be contemplated that, in the fluctuations of the market, the current price would sometimes fall below as well as rise above the standard

[#] From Government, 10th August 1821. Do. on settlement of Canara for Fusli 1232 4th November 1832, Para. 5. Board's proceedings 6th September 1830, paras 40, 41

[**] See Reference in Para.9

[##] From Mr.Harris on settlement of Canara for 1232, 17th June 1823, para 10.

38. Besides, the principles on which the assessment was framed, do not, after the lapse of so long an interval, afford safe data for judging of its practical operation. We have to consider the assessment not so much in its theory as in its actual relation to the existing resources of each estate. An increase in the quantity of produce in particular estates may have compensated for the reduction of its value.

39. As far as I have been able to ascertain, however, it does not appear that the average price has ever fallen so decidedly below the public standard, as has been assumed. As I have noticed in my remarks on the settlement of Bekul, in many parts of the district several descriptions of rice are produced, differing considerably in value. The public rate has been contrasted with the price of red rice, which is the cheapest of all the sorts.

40. The fall of price has usually been attributed to a want of demand. The official returns however, show the average annual exports latterly to have been remarkably steady. A statement will be found in the appendix of the quantity, official value and average price of rice exported from Canara by sea in 16 successive years, being 8 before, and 8 subsequent to, the reduction of the export duty from 10 to 3 per cent. If fusly 1234, a remarkable year, in which the exports were increased, to an unprecedented extent, by a scarcity in the Eastern Coast, be left out of the comparison, the average of the two periods will be as nearly as possible equal; a good deal of rice in that year was brought from above the Ghauts. The value shown in this statement is the product of the price multiplied into the quantity of each description, and the average therefore is a fair medium for the whole. Since the year 1823, the official value of each kind of rice in the account of the Sea custom Department has been fixed according to the actual whole-sale price of the market, which has been ascertained and reported officially once a week, and may be therefore considered tolerably accurate, or at all events to be rather under than above truth. Prior to that period, the duty was collected on the Tariff valuation which was then universally complained of as too high; the inference, therefore, is, that the price shown in the statement is greater than had generally been obtained previously, when lowness of price was not stated as a reason for reducing the assessment.

From Fusly 1225 to 1232	21,333
Do. 1233 to 1240	23,100
Average of 16 years	**22,216**
Highest Year 1234	35,456
Lowest Year 1231	18,430

*No.1

Fusly	**Average price per corge**		
	Rs.	**As.**	**p.**
1225	83	8	3
1226	83	6	5
1227	83	6	0
1228	83	6	3
1229	84	2	6
1230	83	14	7
1231	83	10	7
1232	63	13	10
Average of 8 years	**81**	**1**	**6**
1233	74	12	10
1234	88	15	5
1235	97	10	8
1236	82	4	2
1237	80	2	7
1238	71	1	1
1239	63	7	8
1240	58	15	10
Average of 8 years	**78**	**7**	**10**

27. ONE THIRD OF MOST FERTILE LAND HAD GONE OUT OF CULTIVATION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY DUE TO EXTORTIONATE GOVERNMENT LAND TAX: COLLECTOR, NORTH ARCOT, 1854

TNSA: Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings: Report of J.D.Bourdillon, Collector, North Arcot: 23.10.1854

No. 127.
North Arcot, Collector's Cutcherry,
Chittoor, 23d October 1854.

From J.D.BOURDILLON, ESQUIRE,
(*Collector of North Arcot*)

To W.H.BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort Saint George.

Sir,

Para 1. Before quitting this District to take up my appointment as a member of the Board of Revenue, I am anxious to reply to the Board's order of the 31st August 1854, respecting the reduction of the assessment; although I must necessarily do it in an incomplete manner, from want both of time and of some necessary information. The order in question refers to two separate objects first that of giving immediate relief in cases where "the excessive pressure of the assessment has tended to keep valuable lands permanently out of cultivation[#]; and second, a more general and systematic revision and reduction of the assessment. for the first of these objects, measures where to be taken once by Collectors; while for the second, they were to report for the orders the Board the arrangements which they would recommend. I propose to report on both; to state what I have done under the former order, and to set forth briefly and generally the measures which I would propose under the latter. I shall at the same time reply to the orders of Government the 3rd February 1854, respecting the survey and assessment of the five southern Talooks of the District, received with an Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue of the 20th idem.

2. **There is no doubt that the heavy assessment has actually kept valuable lands out of cultivation in every part of the District. But its operation keeping waste whole classes, or large proportions of whole classes, of the (?) land, is seen most in the five Talooks south of the Palar. In those talooks it is the general rule that the best lands are permanently waste. I stood on the bunds of numberless tanks, and seen the land immediately contiguous to the bund, waste, and the cultivated land commencing at some distance: and on asking why the best lands were thus abandoned, the reply has been that those were first class, or first and second class, as if that were of course a natural and sufficient explanation. This is not the case to the same extent in the Talooks north of the river, where even in the highest classes, some part is most commonly under cultivation.***

3. This difference is I believe in some measure due to the greater energy and industry of the ryots in the Northern Talooks; but there are other causes in the Revenue arrangements also. In the Southern Talooks the highest class lands were probably assessed for two crops, but under the system prevailing there the amount for each crop was not distinguished, nor was remission given for the second crop when it was not cultivated. Consequently as it often happened that the water was insufficient for the second crop, it became necessary to throw up the land as the risk of loss was too great. In the Northern Talooks, on the

[#] para 15 Extract Minutes of Consultation July 10, 1854, Revenue Department No. 806.

other hand, as each crop has only to bear its own burden, it has been practicable to cultivate a part of the best lands in almost every village. Again, the system in use in the Southern Talooks allows a second crop to be grown on the inferior lands, which were certainly assessed for one crop only, without any additional charge; and this circumstance has tended to promote the abandonment of the best lands; the water available for a second crop being in many cases taken to inferior lands, which have thus been able to pay the assessment, often too high to be paid from a single crop. In many cases also wells have been dug to aid in watering the second crop.

4. The object of the present reduction being immediate relief, and there being a prospect of a much more complete measure at no distant date: I thought it best to deal with whole classes only. To have discriminated between parts of the land in the same class, reducing some and leaving the rest untouched, would have involved the necessity of preparing detailed field statements, as without such precaution much room would have been given for fraud. This would have caused much delay; so that *immediate* relief would have been impracticable, and the present measure would hardly have been in actual operation before the more complete one was ready to supersede it. This method of proceeding by whole classes had indeed its inconveniences: but it could not be expected that a temporary and immediate measure, carried into effect too by means of the ordinary establishment only, could be complete. On the one hand it made it necessary to reduce the assessment in many cases on some cultivated land as well as on the waste; while on this other, where the proportion of land in a class kept out of cultivation was not large, no reduction could be made on it at all.

5. As to the former of these circumstances, indeed I think it is not to be regretted. For the effect of reducing the assessment on the waste only and leaving contiguous and similar land at the old rate, would certainly be simply to transfer labour and capital from the latter to the former; the former waste would be cultivated, and the former cultivated would become permanently waste. Indeed though that result will be avoided now as regards land in the same village, yet it will still follow as respects lands of different villages, unless the more complete measure is speedily carried into effect. For if the ryots who have fully cultivated their lands see them on that very account continue under their old burden, while those of a neighbouring village where the ryots have been less industrious and frugal receive relief, they will certainly throw up their own high class lands also, as a means of ultimately obtaining a reduction of the assessment.

6. This dealing with class only, unavoidable as I believe it to have been, had the further effect of making the reductions rarer in the Northern than in the Southern Talooks. In the latter, as already said, whole classes 1st and 2d class land are permanently waste in many village, or only a very small percentage is cultivated; and here therefore very little revenue was given up, even for a time, by reduction. But where half or more of the land of any class was under cultivation, and paying perhaps from 25 to 35 rupees a Cawny, I did not think myself justified by the present order in making a reduction, however certain that it would be followed by the cultivation of the whole, because of the large amount of actual revenue which such reduction would involve. In the Northern Talooks therefore I selected only a few villages in each Talook, where the extent of waste was largest and where the assessment was notoriously the most burdensome, and for the present made reductions in those villages only. In the four Talooks of Cauveri, Sholinghur, Suttivaid and Cuddapanuttum, I made no reductions. In these Talooks, and more particularly in Suttivaid (which was surveyed and assessed while it formed a part of Chingleput.,) the assessment is less burden-some than in the other Talooks; and it did not seem necessary to apply the present order to them. I should add that with one exception to be noticed presently, my reductions were on Nunjah only, (including tank and channel otacal) where indeed relief is much more wanted than on Poonjah. I may also explain that, as respects the extent of cultivation and waste, I used the accounts of Fusly 1262. That was a year materially above the average extent of cultivation, and it would have required much time to prepare the necessary detailed accounts for a series of years.

7. The foregoing paras explain my mode of proceeding under the order ... question; I will now briefly notice the results on the revenue. Enclosure I gives these at one view and in a convenient form. It shows for each Talook the number of villages untouched, with the extent of Nunjah land both waste and cultivated, and the total assessment on each; the number of villages to which the present order was applied, with the same particulars of the land and assessment in the classes untouched; and lastly the extent of land, waste and cultivated, in the classes of which the assessment has been lowered, with the amount and proportion of the reductions made. It will be seen that the whole Nunjah Ayacut of the nine Talooks in the statement is 1,17,889 Cawnies, bearing a Government assessment of 15,10,914 Rupees, of which the extent cultivated is 73,917 Cawnies or 62 ¾ per cent; bearing an assessment of 9,19,509 Rupees or 60 ¾ per cent. of the whole. Thus three-eights of the land is waste and unproductive. Out of the whole extent, 5,725 Cawnies of cultivation, and 12,306 Cawnies of waste were brought under the present reduction; the assessment being 1,12,612 Rupees on the former, and 2,34,969 on the latter. The reduction on the cultivation amounted in the whole to 17,993 Rupees, averaging 16 per cent of the present assessment; that on the waste amounted to 54,390 Rupees, being 23 and a fraction per cent on the present assessment.

8. Thus about 18,000 Rupees of present Revenue is given up, but in return there is the reasonable prospect of a large accession of Revenue from the waste land subjected to the reduction. The total assessment charged on that land at the reduced rates is 1,80,579 Rupees, being just ten times the amount of the Revenue now given up. The whole of this land is now waste and unproductive; and supposing that only half of it is brought under cultivation as a consequence of the present reductions there will be an increase of 90,000 Rupees to set off against the loss of 18,000 Rupees. Thus even as a mere question of Revenue, I think there can be no doubt that the present measure will be one of gain and not of loss; while as regards the tax-payers, the present measure of relief, scanty and narrow as it is, will indubitably be hailed as a boon. I should add that the real reduction is less than is shown in the statement, because the new rates in the Southern Talooks are not to be subject to Teeauzgarry remission. Supposing one-third of the cultivated land operated on to enjoy that privilege now, the real sacrifice of actual Revenue will be Rupees 16,220, instead of Rupees 17,993, as it appears in the statement. I may remark also that the loss is further less than in appears, because the cultivation of Fusly 1262 was above the usual and average extent.

9. The exceptional case of reduction of Poonjah rates to which I have referred is the following. Soon after the present order of the Board reached me, I had before me on some other business the Monigars and Curnums of two villages of the Sautghur Talook. I took the opportunity to enquire respecting the rates of assessment, and the extent of cultivation and waste in the villages, and I found them to be as shown in the enclosure 2. The following table shows the extent of cultivation and waste respectively. [Table not given here]

10. I am now speaking of the Poonjah. It will be seen that out of 295 Cawnies in Rungumpettah, only 50 was cultivated while 245 was waste; and in Goondlapully, that out of 363 Cawnies, only 97 ½ was cultivated and 265 ½ waste. It was fully clear that this lamentable state of things was owing solely to the exorbitancy of the assessments, which in both villages alike, ranged from 5 Rupees 6 Annas a Cawny to 3 Rupees 1 Anna, in these remote jungle villages, after deducting the customary remission of 12 ½ per cent from the Taram rates. This had compelled the abandonment of the land, which had now been waste for many years; and the ryots and labourers, without occupation or means of living, had emigrated, or remained in poverty on contracted holdings; even if they had not, as not unfrequently happens in such cases, resorted to occasional robbery in the neighbouring ghauts. Much of even the land actually cultivated would have been waste also, but that some private wells aided in the cultivation of the greater part of it. I had no hesitation in applying the present order to this case; I lowered the rates as shown in enclosure 2, and there is no doubt that cultivation will speedily be extended. The state of the Nunjah was much the same as of the Poonjah, and it will be seen in the statement that I reduced the rates on that also.

I may add that these new rates in these villages are not to be subject to the customary remission; they are still higher than I think they ought to be.

11. I must not omit to notice another and distinct measure which I have adopted under the rule now in question. It has long been well known to the Revenue authorities of the District, and has repeatedly come under the notice of the Board, that in the five Southern Talooks, which have never been settled on survey, the extent of the lands in many villages is far less than that which appears in the accounts and on which they are assessed. In some cases that real extent of the land is not more than 70 or 75 per cent of the nominal extent. This circumstance of course makes the assessment more burdensome in reality than in appearance; and this cause operates not less than the nominal high rate of assessment to keep land waste.

12. I happen to have at hand a memo. of the deficiency in two villages of the Arcot Talook, viz. Chuckramulloor and Mundialum, both fine villages. In the former, our of an extent of 229 Cawnies of Nunjah land shown in the accounts, there is no more in reality than 182, leaving a deficiency of 47 Cawnies, or 20 per cent. The assessment of the deficient land amounts to about 650 Rupees. In Mundialum there is a deficiency of 40 Cawnies out of 167, or 23 ¾ per cent, and the assessment of the deficient land comes to about 500 Rupees. If the whole land were cultivated these large sums would have to be paid over and above the nominal assessment; and it is no wonder therefore at a large extent of land in both villages is permanently waste. The same state of things is found in various degrees in many other villages. Last year the Meerasdars of three villages in Wundiwash Talook petitioned the Board and that not for the first time, that they might be charged for only the actual amount of their lands. The Petition being sent to me for enquiry and disposal, looked into the matter at the Jummabundy, and finding the complaint well founded I gave the relief sought by charging for the extent, according to survey of the village made under Mr. Nisbet[#]. The same relief is needed in very many other villages; and conceiving that the present order might be taken to authorize the measure, I have directed that Mr. Nisbet's survey shall be adopted universally in the five Talooks to which it extends, (in all the wages for which it was compleated) in the settlement of the current Fusly. This measure will remove a standing grievance and a great deal of discontent.

13. The foregoing is a brief detail of the measures adopted by me under the order for giving immediate relief from over assessment, in those cases only where land is actually and manifestly kept permanently out of cultivation by that cause. I now proceed to the second part of the subject; As to state those which appear to me advisable in the more general and systematic revision of the assessment. This revision, if I rightly understand the intention, is to be directed to other and larger objects; is not to regard solely the increase of the revenue or even the preservation of it from some present diminution; but is to aim also at relieving the ryot from burdens which impede or press down his exertion, and effectually prevent his growth of wealth, intelligence, and comfort; so as to enable him at no distant time to the same or a still larger amount with much less inconvenience and privation. The want of time at present, as well as the absence of the particular information necessary to a minute and detailed exposition, make it necessary that I should deal with the subject briefly and in outline only; but I think it desirable that it should be done thus, rather than not done at all. The extract from the Minutes of Consultation of Government which[##] accompanied the Board's Proceedings above quoted, materially shortens and facilitate the task; for the views of Government there expressed render it necessary either to produce proof that the assessment is burdensome, or to argue in favour of immediate proceedings without waiting for a correct survey. I shall therefore proceed at once to explain the state of the assessment at present, and the alterations which I would propose.

[#] See Endorsement on Petition 1860 of 1853

[##] Extract Minutes of Consultation Revenue Department July 10th 1854, No. 806.

14. I will first speak of the Nunjah land; and I will begin with the southern Talooks of the District; excluding Sutwaid however for the present, as the assessment of that Talook was fixed on an entirely different basis from those of the other Northern Talooks. In my letter[###] replying to the Board's questions respecting the commutation rates, I stated (para 9) the proportion of the crop taken as the Government share in forming the present money rates. The Government share in all was taken at 50 per cent; and in all except Palmanair and Vencataghirrycottah the proportion taken from the Ryot was further increased by fees to village servants, so that the share really left to him was no more than from 46 ½ to 48 ½ per cent, there being some variation between Talook and Talook. These proportions were those for land watered by tank or channel; in the case of land watered by wells, (the extent of which however is but small) the Ryot was allowed two thirds of the crop,(except in Palmanair) in consideration of the cost of raising the water.

15. The quantities of grain thus obtained were commuted into money at the average selling price of ten years; the average price in each village was taken but as stated in para 4 of the letter above referred to[#], there is nothing to show what were the prices thus averaged; and it seems likely that they were those of the sales of Government paddy,(the revenue of Nunjah land being then taken in kind) and the Government grain, as a general rule, was certainly sold at the times when the market was best; thus the average would not be a fair one. The money rates thus fixed were soon found to be very exorbitant; and their pressure was so severely felt, that, the case being represented to the Board of Revenue, a general remission of 12 ½ per cent[##] was granted and still continues.

16. Supposing the quantity of produce originally assumed to be correct, and supposing the commutation price to have been fair at first and to have still continued so, the actual share of the crop left to the ryot including this remission, is 56 ¼ in Palmanair, and from 52 to 54 per cent in the other Talooks. But it is well known that the conditions have not so remained unchanged. Having but very imperfect data, I will not hazard any opinion as to the fairness of the two elements of the commutation, viz. quantity and price, at the time, beyond the remark made above in the proceeding para; but indubitably the pressure of the assessment has been very greatly augmented by the subsequent fall in the price of grain. I entered into this question also in my letter above cited, (August 28, 1854) and gave a table showing the prices prevailing in each Talook during each of the last ten Fuslies in comparison with the commutation price. And, making some correction (though I believe not to a sufficient extent,) on the prices of those ten years which were the *town* prices, for comparison with the commutation averages which were *village* prices, I found that the fall of price in the several Talooks (omitting Palmanair and Vencataghirrycottah where it is less), ranged from 17 per cent to 60 per cent.

17. If this fall were natural, resulting from the cheapening of the processes of agriculture, or from a lowering of the cost of bringing grain to market through the improvement of the roads, or from increased skill obtaining heavier crops, then it could not be held to increase the burden on the ryot, but would in fact be itself the result of the burden being lightened, and would be the restoration of the equilibrium. But there is no reason to suppose that improvement of any of the three kinds specified, or any other; has tended in any material degree to produce a natural depreciation. I think the cause must be sought elsewhere; and without stopping to enter at large into this subject, I think it may be accounted for, partly by the demand of the non-agricultural classes not increasing, and perhaps in some quarters even diminishing; and partly by an increase in the value of silver, being so far a nominal and not a real cheapening.

[###] August 28, 1854, No. 99

[#] August 28, 1854

[##] Letter from Government to the Board of Revenue March 18, 1823. The reduction authorized was 12 per cent, but for convenience sake it was made 12 ½ or one-eighth.

18. With regard to the former cause, I would observe that some branches of the country manufactures have certainly very greatly declined during the last half century, under the pressure of the Moturfah tax, and in competition both at home and abroad with much more lightly taxed importations from other quarters; and further I would remark that this view seems to some degree supported by the fact that in the talooks of Palmanair and Vencataghirrycottah, where a considerable and lately much increasing extent land has always been devoted to the growth of the sugar cane the fall in the price of paddy is much less than in any other talook. As to the second of the causes above mentioned, I would observe that not only would the demand for silver to pay the Government kist increase its price to the Ryot, but there is a proof from official documents that the export of silver during the last thirty years has very greatly exceeded the imports, and this to so great an extent as seriously to affect the whole quantity of silver in so poor a country.

19. If there is any truth in the preceding observations as to the causes of this fall in the price of grain, it follows that it has not been accompanied by any compensation to the Ryot, but that it has simply increased his burden, by augmenting the share of his crop taken from him by the Government. I feel no doubt at all that this is really the case; if not to the full extent of the all itself, yet very nearly so, and the result cannot but be very disastrous to the Ryot. It has also certainly been injurious to the Government Revenue. In support of this assertion I beg to request attention to enclosure 6 which shows the Revenue from the Nunjah lands in a number of villages for a series of years. Had there been more time the list could have been much enlarged; as it is, however, it is of some value. Having only received it at almost the last moment of my time, I cannot offer much remark on it, but it deserves attentive examination. It will be seen that in many of the villages the Revenue has sunk in the course of the half century of British rule or rather in the thirty years of Ryotwar field settlements, to one-half and even to one-third of what it was formerly. It is my full belief that the cause of this lamentable decline, implying as it inevitably does a more than corresponding fall in the comfort and resources of the people of those villages, is due almost exclusively to the exorbitancy of the Government tax; though the neglect of works of irrigation has no doubt operated to some extent and in some cases. I beg also to appeal to enclosures 3,4, and 5, showing the cultivation and waste, and to the large proportion of the latter, in proof of the same fact.

20. In their proceedings on a report from the late Collector of South Arcot in view to a reduction of the assessments there, the Government[#] have adopted the principle that one-third of the crop or 33 1/3 per cent is as much as can properly be taken from the Ryot. In the talooks of this district of which I am now speaking the present assessments as already said nominally taken from 44 to 48 per cent, but in reality they take much more. The rule just referred to, if put in force here would make very extensive reductions. Thus in the Triputty Talook there are lands assumed to produce 40 Cullums of paddy and assessed at the enormous rate of Pag.6 As.7 or Rupees 22-8-6 a Cawny for a single crop; and even after deducting the permanent remission the net assessment is 19 ¾ Rupees. But if instead of 42 ½ per cent the Government share were reduced to 33 1/3, and this diminished quantity of grain were commuted into money at the rate of 5 ¾ [##] Cullums to a Pagoda, instead of 3 Cullums, the rate for a single crop on this land would be only about 2 ¼ Pagodas or less than 8 Rupees. This would be a reduction of 60 per cent of the present net assessment. But so large a reduction is not called for; the ryots do not expect it, and do not even ask for it. Even the premises do not involve so large a sacrifice; for I must observe that the assessments here, and everywhere else so far as I have seen, are based on the value of the *grain* only, to the exclusion of the straw; though this latter is in reality no inconsiderable item. A cawny of land producing forty Cullums of Paddy will yield also about forty bundles of straw worth in ordinary times an anna each, or on the whole 2 ½ Rupees. This, added to the rate obtained as above by taking one third of the grain, would give a total of nearly 10 ½ Rs.

[#] Extract Minutes of Consultation of Government, June 26th 1854, No. 748

[##] See para 21 of letter of August 28, 1854

21. I will now briefly explain the state of the nunjah assessment in the five Talooks South of the Palar. The existing assessments in those Talooks were settled while they formed a part of the South Arcot District, and there is no information on my records to show the basis on which they were framed, with the single exception of the amount of the commutation price. I gather however from some papers obligingly placed at my disposal by you that in the settlements made by Mr.Garrow in Fusly 1212, the Government share was taken, according to the custom, at different proportions, varying according to the Talook, according to the mode of irrigation, and according to the caste or tribe of the ryot; Musselmans and Brahmins being allowed 10 in the hundred more than Soodras. On the average of the whole however, including the low and the high proportions, the Government share amounted to no less than 57 per cent on the assumed produce. The quantity of grain thus determined as the share of Government was commuted into money at the rate of four Rayajee Cullums to a Pagoda.
(From Collector South Arcot to Board July 12, 1802, Para 69.)

22. The rates thus obtained were very exorbitant; they were somewhat reduced in the succeeding year by Major Macleod; but still the highest rate was no less than 16 ½ Pagodas a cawny. In Fusly 1215, Mr. Ravenshaw made still further reductions in the most highly assessed villages only, by reducing the average of several rates to five Pagodas a cawny, where it exceeded that sum. He calculated that this reduction would leave the ryot about 24 ½ per cent of his crop; 75 ½ being thus taken by the Government. He adds that the share thus given to the cultivators was 25 per cent less than in his opinion it ought to be.

23. The excessive rates then fixed have been maintained to the present day; for the remission of 12 ½ per cent granted in the Northern Talooks has not been extended in the Southern. Bramins and Musselmans in those Talooks, however, still enjoy the privilege of paying only nine-tenths of the Taram rate on their usual holdings, though this privilege is not permitted in the case of land reclaimed from waste. But though thus nominally still in operation, those rates have been materially modified in practice, but so unequally and irregularly that it is quite impossible to say what proportion of the crop is now taken by the Government. These disturbing causes I will briefly notice. In the first place in Fusly 1215, Mr.Ravenshaw with the view of promoting the cultivation of the waste, ordered that such lands taken up for cultivation should pay certain proportions of their Tarum assessment, according to the time for which they had been waste, increasing gradually to three-fourths of the Tarum rate, which was to continue the permanent assessment of such lands. Under this rule which seems to have continued in the operation...

REVENUE DEPARTMENT

No. 460

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, under date the 23d April 1855.

Minute by the Right Honorable the President. [Governor of Madras Presidency] No. 35.

Para 1. With the foregoing Proceedings of the Board of Revenue lay before Government a Report received from the late Collector of North Arcot, (October 23rd 1854) in pursuance of the orders of Government of the 10th July 1854, on the subject of the reduction of the present land assessments where found to be too heavy. The Board approve of the measures of the Collector both those carried into effect for giving immediate relief in extreme cases, and those submitted for approval in view to a more general revision. The Government have attentively considered the Collector's report, and they concur in the Board's approval of the measures reported and proposed. It is unnecessary to recapitulate those measures in detail, or the reasonings on which they are founded; but they will be noticed briefly.

2. The first part of the Collector's letter details the steps which he has taken for giving immediate relief, in cases where the present assessment is so heavy as actually to keep land waste. The reductions extended to 18,031 cawnies, and amounted to 72,390 Rupees; nearly 18,000 Rupees of this sum was on land actually under cultivation in the year of which the accounts were used viz., Fusly 1261, and may be regarded as Revenue given up. The remainder of remission, viz. 54,390 Rupees was on waste land, and therefore involved no sacrifice; and as the reduced assessment on this land, (12,306 cawnies) which is of superior quality, amounts to 1,80,000 Rupees, there seems no doubt that much more than the small amount of Revenue nominally given up, will be recovered by the occupation of this land. The other measure for immediate relief, viz., the adoption of the five Southern Talooks, of the measurements of the survey made by Mr. Nisbet's direction, in lieu of the existing recorded measurements, which in many cases are notoriously above the true area, is also approved.

3. As respects the future, the Collector recommends very considerable reductions both on Nunjah and on Poonjah. As an introduction to his proposals respecting the former, he reviews with some minuteness the processes followed in forming the existing assessments both in the Northern and in the Southern parts of the District. The former Talooks are those which have from the first formed a part of the North Arcot District, and which were for the most part surveyed and assessed by Mr. Graeme in 1805; and the latter are those which were transferred to this District from South Arcot in 1808, after having been assessed in common with other parts of that Collectorate, though without a survey. As respects the former, the Collector shows that the assessment was based on a division of the crop, which left the Ryot no more than from 46 ½ to 48 ½ per cent of it, (there being some variation between the proportions in the several Talooks) increased by subsequent remission in 1823, to from 52 to 56 ¼ per cent; and that even this scanty share has practically been very greatly diminished, by the great fall in the price of grain subsequently to the year when the commutation into money was made. As respects the Southern Talooks, the information respecting the original basis of the assessment is much more meagre; but there is enough to show that the Government demand was excessively heavy, amounting as computed by the Collector at that time (Mr. Ravenshaw) at no less than 75 ½ per cent of the gross produce[#], and that it still continues so, notwithstanding a measure of relief in various ways. The assessments in the Southern Talooks are higher than in the Northern, and in both Divisions they are materially above those of the adjoining District of South Arcot, where however a reduction of 25 per cent has been ordered by Government.

4. The Collector proposes a remission of 30 per cent of the present net assessment which involves a loss of Revenue of 3,26,000 Rupees. The reduction is not to be uniform, but to vary according to the requirements of the case. It is to be larger in the south than in the north, and larger on the high classes than on the lower ones. In the Northern Talooks it is to be applied to the existing survey; in the Southern to that made by Mr. Nisbet but never yet brought into use. In the Southern Talooks the rate of reduction will vary much more between village and village than in the Northern; because at present the burden of the assessment is much more unequally distributed in the former division of the District than in the latter. The lands are to be classed as one crop and two crop, the latter comprising all usually possessing means of irrigation for two crops; and the 2nd crop assessment is to be remitted in the latter case where the crop is not raised, and to be added in the former when a second crop is grown. The remission of one-tenth of the Tarum assessment is allowed to Bramins and Mussulmen in the Southern Talooks under the term Teazgary, is to cease; being merged in the general reduction.

5. On the Poonjah land, or that not supplied with irrigation from Government sources, the Collector proposes a reduction of 25 per cent. This proposal is based on similar grounds to that respecting the Nunjah. The present assessment of Poonjah land were based in the greater part of the District on a share of one third of the gross produce, but the fall in the price of grain has much increased that proportion. The extent of waste too, is very large in comparison with that cultivated, the later being only one third of the whole arable area. The reduction is to be applied to the land in the same manner as that above stated in the case of Nunjah. The total loss of Revenue is stated at 1,10,000 Rupees.

[#] Para 22

7. **Thus, independently of the waste extent of land yet unreclaimed, and much of which needs but little preparation for tillage there is an area of 4,22,960 cawnies, all formerly under cultivation (though probably not all at one and the same time) and now waste for many years greatly in consequence of an exorbitant Government demand, which if all brought under cultivation would yield a revenue of 11,42,000 Rupees. There seems nothing unreasonable in the expectation that from this source and the unreclaimed land, so much will speedily be brought under permanent tillage as will fully replace the revenue now given up. The Government fully coincide in the Board's remarks (Paras 12 to 14) as to the importance of enlarging the tax paying area and so lightening its pressure. It is certain that the very high assessment has greatly operated to restrict the extent of land in cultivation in North Arcot, and the present step in lowering the demand will no doubt cause an extension of cultivation, especially favoured as it is by the simultaneous improvement of the means of transport. And there is another cause which will aid in replacing the revenue given up, viz. the diminished frauds consequent on the diminution of the premium on fraud. There is no doubt that high assessments promote such dishonesty as the Collector truly remarks (Paras 33 to 35) and the instances cited by him are striking and instructive. In proportion as the assessments are lowered the temptation is lessened, and both the loss to Government, and the demoralization arising from habituation to such frauds and their necessary concomitant bribery, will be diminished.***

8. Some details of the plan may be briefly adverted to. The Government agree in the Board's remarks in Paras 15 and 16 as to the maximum rates stated by the Collector for Nunjah and Poonjah respectively, as to the proportion of the 2nd crop assessment on the former. They would consider it an advantage indeed if some plan could be devised for getting rid of a separate and contingent assessment for second crop. There is no reason why the Government should give up the demand on second crop for which it provides water; this would be only to favour particular persons at the expense of others. The alternative is to compound for the second crop; but the result of this kind of composition hitherto has only been to cause the withdrawal of labour and capital from such two crop lands, usually much the best.

28. OVER ASSESSMENT IN REVENUE SURVEY, MINUTE OF LORD HARRIS, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1854

Revenue Consultations; July 4,1854 (Range 282 vol.37 pp. 3854-4490; Survey of South Arcot pp.4194-4251, Minute of Lord Harris of 16.6.1854 pp. 4212-18, Thomas of 23.6.1854 pp.4219-26)

Lord Harris (pp 4217): I am desirous of pressing this subject (of revenue survey) forward for immediate attention because **I have learnt both from oral statement and from published documents and indeed I believe it not denied that there are portions of the lands of this Presidency and those some of the richest and finest soils which have been thrown out of cultivation in consequence of the impossibility of paying the excessive assessment charged on them that in consequence improvement is at a stand still and the population in actual want of the necessaries of life.***

If this be true if such a state really exists, I feel it is my imperative duty to do my best that not a day or an hour should be lost without endeavouring to apply a remedy to a condition of affairs so unnatural and so hostile to the best interests of the government and of the entire population...

29. REVENUE DESPATCH TO MADRAS ON TORTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF LAND REVENUE

Madras Public Consultation, No 19, dated 26 July 1854, (pp. 239-42)

1. In a recent debate in the House of Commons, aspersions, alleged to be founded on information provided by official and other persons resident in your presidency were made, to the effect that torture was frequently employed by native officers to compel the ryots to pay the demands of government.

2. The aspersions having been thus publicly made, we desire that you will institute the most searching enquiry into the subject, and call upon every collector in the Presidency to report fully whether such an unjustifiable practice is suffered to exist, and whether they have reason to believe that an occurrence of this kind can have taken place without their knowledge in any part of the territories under your government. We desire that you will furnish us with a full report on the subject.

We are, your loving friends, I.Oliphant and 9 others (acknowledged by Public Letter No. 30 of 23 September 1854, presented to Parliament and ordered to be printed, July 27, 1855)

30. USE OF TORTURE IN LAND REVENUE COLLECTION IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY : c.1840 - 1850s.

Madras Public Consultations: September 12, 1854 (in Range 249 vol 31; pp 3398-3938, August 22 - September 12, 1854)

No.8 Minute of Governor Harris:August 28,1854 (pp 3863-5)

The extracts from the reports of the debate in Parliament on Mr. Blackett's Motion on the state of Madras Presidency which accompany this Minute have been made at my desire in order to give sufficient grounds for this government to take action thereon.

There can be no doubt, I imagine, that it has been positively asserted in Parliament, and that that assumption received no positive contradiction that instruments of torture are commonly employed in this Presidency and for the purpose of exacting an immoderate rent .*

Whether the rent or tax be immoderate or not is a point which it is unnecessary here to discuss but the other portion of the assertion is so fearful a charge that I cannot allow it to pass without at once stating my opinion that every exertion should at once be made by this government to discover by the strictest scrutiny whether there is any and what degree of truth in so grave an imputation.

The idea of such a practice is so abhorrent to the principles which are innate in every Englishman that I would not hesitate at once to repunge an accusation of the kind on the part of the covenanted service, but I feel sure that any general denial of such a nature would not be satisfactory to the officers of the service themselves, but that they will be as desirous as I am that the fullest inquiry should be made: that the question should be thoroughly investigated, that if untrue, it may be at once openly and clearly rebutted and that if there be any truth in the observation, if practices have been carried on which cannot but be condemned, which are disgraceful to the government under which they are tolerated, that every exertion should be made to expose them and to take such measures as will prevent any repetition of such transactions.

I forward the extracts to my hon'ble colleague this evening in order that he may take this subject into consideration at the meeting of Council tomorrow.

Harris (Governor)

Government House, 28th August 1854

31. MINUTE OF LORD HARRIS, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY, ON TORTURE: 1854

Madras Public Consultation, No. 40, pp. 4577-9

Mr Minchin's report is a sufficient proof of the crying necessity of the inquiry which has been called for.

His proceedings and statement manifest a degree of energy, high principle and good feeling which are most creditable to him.

There is one subject mentioned in his report to which I am of opinion, that the most serious attention of government should at once be given, that is the possibility of a considerable diminution in the revenue occurring in consequence of the prevention of those measures which have hitherto been adopted to enforce its payment.

It appears to be Mr. Minchin's opinion that the processes which can at present be legally employed for enforcing the payment of revenue, are so dilatory that they are tantamount to a complete exemption from taxation to those who refuse voluntarily to meet the demand.

I propose, therefore, that the law on this subject should be immediately taken into consideration and that if it be found to be circuitous and dilatory in effecting its object, that it be at once revised, so that no delay may occur in its being forwarded to the Legislative Council.

I think measures should also be taken at once to ascertain whether the collectors are in all cases acting on the instructions they have received lately from the Board of Revenue and whether they have taken measures to give the fullest publicity to the instructions of government, respecting alleviation of assessment in all cases where it is required, in all the villages of their several districts.

The feeling amongst the entire officials evidently is that without the power of ill-usage, which they have hitherto employed, they will be unable to collect the revenue. Many Europeans, I doubt not, will be found to support this view.*

It behoves the government therefore to use every means in its power to prevent any result of this kind.

It will be necessary from the outset to demonstrate clearly both by instructions and by acts:

***First*, to their officers, that whilst the employment of illegal modes of punishment will not be tolerated, yet that they will be strenuously supported in the performance of their duties;**

Second*, to the people, that whilst no ill treatment will be permitted, yet that they will be required to pay their just dues and in the event of their failing to do so, that the law will be strictly enforced.

Government House October 6,1854. Harris

This report will of course be forwarded to the Commissioners.

Harris.

32. RESEARCH NOTES ON THE TORTURE INVESTIGATION MADRAS PRESIDENCY

No.9 Minute by I.F.Thomas: 30th August 1854 (pp 3865-6)

It must not be overlooked that torture or any personal injury and violence on the part of any officer either of revenue or police is punishable as a criminal act. Our records show, that it is not unknown in police cases, and that it did exist as an old native usage. It is not prevalent, I believe, at this hour in revenue matters.

No.10 Resolution of Government; 9th September 1854 (pp 3866-73, 16 paras; printed P.P. 1854-5; vol XL pp.627-9)

No. 11 Letter to E.F.Elliot, chief magistrate and superintendent of police; H.Stokes, acting collector of Madras: and J.B.Norton, Bar-at-law from H.C.Montgomery, chief secretary dated 9th September 1854 (5 paras, pp 3873-6; printed pp 627)

Madras Public Consultations: September 19, to October 17, 1854 (in Range 249 vol 32, pp 3939-4626)

October 3:

No.33 Petition from Bellary on torture (pp 4260-7)
No.34 To collector Bellary for enquiry (pp 4267-9)
No.36 From Elliot,Stokes,Norton (pp 4271-4;printed 634)
No.37 Minute of Sarris on above (pp 4274-81)
No.38 Resolution of Government (pp 4281-8; printed pp 635-6)
No.39 To Advocate General (pp 4288-91)

October 10:

No. 23 From Advocate General(pp 4394-6)
No. 24 From Government Pleader (pp 4396-8)
No. 25 To Government of India (pp 4399-44 05)

Madras Public Consultations (Range 249/32, September 19-October 17, 1854)

Nelson's letter to Chief Secretary: Sept 23, 1854 (No.8, pp 4080-7: printed 722-4): Government's reference to Minchin and reply to Nelson (No 9, pp 4087-8)

Minchin's Report to Government: October 17, 1854 (No 39, pp. 4557 - 71, printed pp. 662-5); correspondence with Nelson:pp 4572-6; printed; 724-5)

Minute of I.F.Thomas; October 6,1854 (No. 41, pp 4580-1)

I can only join most cordially in the Right Hon'ble the President's approval of Mr. Minchin's proceedings and concur entirely in the opinion, that this single statement is sufficient to shew the necessity for the enquiry instituted, and of measures being taken for the total eradication of the system of torture, too long in force by the native officers.

I doubt, if additional power, or legislative provisions are called for; or that they would effect anything. I should require the European officers to proceed to any talook, when there was an unusual and unlooked for diminution of the collection, and to satisfy himself by careful personal examination, that the parties, in arrears, could fairly pay them up. If they were not able, it is clearly a case where remission would be proper and the diminution of the revenue would be just and no more than ought to take place, especially in such years as the present. I would require an immediate report from the Board of Revenue on this point.

Resolution of Government: October 16, 1854 (No 42, pp 4581-4)

1. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council considers that the above report is, in itself, a proof of the necessity for the enquiry instituted under the orders of Government in extract Minutes of Consultation of 9th ultimo, No 922, into the alleged prevalence of "Torture" in the collection of the public revenue.

2. Mr. Minchin's proceedings and statement manifest a degree of energy, high principle and correct feeling which are most creditable to him.

3. By Captain Nelson's timely information and well judged proceedings, the charges investigated by Mr. Minchin have been brought home to the guilty parties and furnished with a degree of promptitude, which must prove a salutary example.

4. Mr. Minchin states, in his report, that the higher native officers do not hesitate to avow their apprehension, that falling off of the revenue will be the result of the determination of government to put down in every shape torture and all other illegal methods of coercion. In this apprehension Mr. Minchin himself participates to a certain extent, and it seems to be his opinion that the processes which can at present be legally employed for enforcing the payment of revenue are so dilatory, that they are tantamount to a complete exemption from taxation to those who refuse voluntarily to meet the demand.

5. The existing state of the law on this subject will be immediately taken into consideration in the Revenue Department, in order that if it be found to be circuitous or dilatory in effecting its object, these defects may be remedied without delay.

6. The Board Revenue will also be required to report at once whether the collectors are in all cases acting on the instructions they have received, regarding the alleviation of assessment, and whether they have taken measures to give the fullest publicity in all the villages of their several districts of the intention of government to moderate the demand wherever it is required.

7. The feeling among the native officers evidently is, that without the power of ill-usage which they hitherto employed, they will be unable to collect the revenue, and it behoves the government, whilst limiting its demands to a fair and equitable amount, to use every means in its power to prevent its just dues being evaded.

8. It will be necessary from the outset for the government, by instructions and acts, to demonstrate to its own officers, that whilst the employment of illegal modes of coercion will not be tolerated, yet that they will be strenuously supported in the performance of their duties, and to the people that whilst no ill treatment will be permitted, yet that they will be required to pay their just dues, and in the event of their failing to do so, that the law will be strictly enforced.

9. Ordered that Mr. Minchin's report and the papers connected with it be forwarded to the Commission now sitting and that this resolution be communicated to the Revenue Department where the subjects noticed in paras 4 to 8 will be considered and disposed of.

From Captain F. Nelson (concluding para)

As far as Ongle is concerned and the surrounding villages, I have no hesitation in saying that "instruments of torture" are not used by the revenue officers, unless the term is taken in so wide a sense that the canes, ferrulas, kneeling upon a ruler &c., all common methods of punishment in many English private schools are considered "instruments of torture".

The stooping posture enforced by the neck and leg being held in proximity, no doubt must be highly inconvenient and to a plethoric Englishman might almost amount to torture, but to the supple cool-blooded native of this part of the world, I should hesitate in describing the enforced attitude as one of torture. Nevertheless I deem it my duty to reveal what I have, being sure that personal violence in however slight a degree, employed arbitrarily, for the purpose of extracting revenue, is contrary to the spirit of British rule.

Torture: Madras Public Consultations: 3.10.1854; No. 22 (pp 4240-2) Resolution No 1018 (on a letter of A.Hall, Collector, and G.S.Forbes of South Arcot Given as no. 20 & 21 on preceding pages 4230-5 and 4235-40, respectively.)

It was not intended by Government nor was it anywhere so stated that the appointment of a Commission at the Presidency to investigate cases of torture should interfere with the enquiries of Collectors ordered by the Minutes of Council of the 9th instant. Mr Hall will carry out the orders he then received as well as those contained in the subsequent Minutes of Consultation of the 18th instant, and he will report the result of his enquiries hereafter. The extract from the Magistrate's records appended to para 5 of his letter shows the existence of the practice of a species of torture in South Arcot and the Government must add that the manner in which the cases given were disposed off does not manifest any active endeavours on the part of the authorities to suppress the practice. The Governor in Council desires that the Session Judge be directed to call up the records in those cases and to furnish the Government with his opinion as to the sufficiency of the evidence and on the propriety of the decision in each case.

30.9.1854.

Consideration of Despatch of 26.7.1854. (No. 26 of 26.9.1854, pp 4170) Acknowledgment of Despatch : (No.1 of 23.9.1854, pp 4075)
Some Despatches of August 9. 1854 dealt with on Sept 19,1854.

REPORTS AND OTHER PAPERS IN VIEW TO A REVISION AND RECASTING OF THE REVENUE LAWS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY
- by H.Stokes, 1856, pp 87.

...made in consequence of Minute of Consultation of June 20, 1855, "for the task of revising the law as it now stands in this Presidency for the Recovery of Revenue and of rent".

The Great design of legislation I conceive to be the protection of Government and its subjects in their just rights. With this view it aims to repress crime, to adjudicate between conflicting claims to property, and to define and regulate the powers of the State in the levy of taxes; thus, naturally branching out into three main departments of Criminal, Civil and Fiscal Law, each with its own powers and procedure. (para 12 of first report of Government, dated September 20.1855)

Mirasi; Madras Board of Revenue: May 14, 1856 (Range 312 vol 68; pages 7950-7990, 26 paras)

Para 21. (pp 7983)...the right of the state to lands which remain uncultivated and unassessed should be vigorously maintained.

Para 23. Within Madras itself the Board have recommended a modified course because litigation in the Supreme Court is in their opinion to be avoided now that it appears from the Advocate General's opinion that great stress would there be laid on Mr.Ellis's description of Meerasi Tenures. The importance attached to that work by English lawyers on account of its having been written by a public servant and printed and circulated by Government would of course be increased by the knowledge that Government have recently cited it as the very best authority and acting upon this opinion have set aside a Decree which had been given in its own favour.

Para 24. Any decision passed by the supreme court regarding Meerasy Tenures would not be without influence in the provinces and it is undesirable that Government should enter into litigation on the subject in a court where it would be under a great disadvantage...

Para 25. The magnitude and importance of the subject leads the Board to lay these remarks before the Government and solicit its reconsideration of the question. It is not only the past and future revenues derivable from forests and waste lands that are at stake, but also the right of those numerous parties who relying on the faith and Good Title of Government have accepted waste lands from it and laid out sums on their improvement. (printed in Papers on Mirasi Rights pp 538-53 Dealt in Rev from Madras 5.6.1857 paras 22-42: pages 142-6)

ASSESSMENT OF NELLORE

Proceedings Board of Revenue (May 3-7, 1855 Range 312 vol 6 pp 6675 - 7255; Nellore pp.7092-7210, from Collector dated Sept 28,1854 pp 7092)

Para 1. As the most obvious, and indisputable of the latter, I would, observe, that whilst government has, in para 15 of Extract from Minutes of Consultations under date 26th June 1854 recorded its opinion that an assessment of 50% of the gross produce, is a tax which no district in Southern India can bear, it is in this district 55% not of the gross, but the **net** produce i.e. after deducting from the former 6 ½% for the fees payable to the village artifices and servants.

Nellore: Torture

Madras Public consultations October 17,1854 (No. 39. Letter from J.I. Minchin, Acting sub-Collector Nellore to Chief Secretary pp.4557-71)

Para 21. I believe however that the revenue practices within the zemindaris are at least not worse than within our own jurisdiction and two causes are there in existence which would naturally tend to prevent any great amount of personal ill-usage from taking place. The first is the separation of the police from the revenue authority which renders its practice more hazardous, the second is the custom of making all collections in kind which make it less necessary.

No. 40 pp 4572-6 Enclosed letters about Nellore

No. 40 pp 4577-9 Minute by Harris October 6,1854

No. 40 pp 4580-1 Minute by I.F.Thomas Oct 6,1854

No. 42 pp 4581-4 Resolution of government Oct 16,1854.

33. HOW WE TAX INDIA - A LECTURE: 1858

pp. 40 (BM: 8023. aa. 8.)

(p.25)...Lord Harris, the present Governor of Madras, in his minute dated October 26, 1854, advises its reduction, because, **"In the Presidency, I hear " he writes, "that it is often 50 per cent, or even more"!!...Aurangzebe, in the necessities consequent upon his long wars, had tried to get 50 per cent -- a proportion almost unheard of since the days (p.26) of Alla-ood-Deen, one of the Mussulman rulers of the twelfth century, whose name is execrated in oriental history as one of the most rapacious of monarchs... Actually, however, our tax was soon discovered to be a great increase... because we levied it upon all the land in cultivation, which the native tax-gatherers did not... You will see how in this way each ryot might find his own individual tax twice as much as his old share of the village tax, and yet the nominal percentage of gross produce might be the same, or even less than before. This over-assessment, or rather rack-rent, was not and could not be paid.***

34. EXTRACTS FROM CONDITION OF INDIA: REPORT BY MR. JAMES CAIRD, MEMBER, FAMINE COMMISSION, c. 1880

Reported by James Caird, Esq., C.B. Presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1880

[In his talks with the Viceroy (Lytton) Mr.Caird asked him what was the pre-British revenue system in India. The Viceroy said that in years of plenty the ruler took a very large proportion of the production. But, in years of great scarcity as there was little production, there was no collection of the rulers share. The Viceroy however, added that we the British cannot follow this practice as our expenses are fixed. Whether there is production or not we have to raise the revenue to meet our expenses. Incidentally, during the 1769 famine in Bengal, in which about one-third of the people died, the British collected the full amount of the land revenue, as reported to London, even when there was little agricultural production.]

Mr.Caird was a member of the Famine Commission and was further asked by the British Government to submit a separate report on the condition in India. In his letter forwarding Mr. Caird's report to the Governor-General of India on January 22, 1880, Lord Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, says the following: "In his letter to the Home Secretary on the subject of Mr. Caird's appointment to the Famine Commission, Lord Salisbury expressed his opinion that apart from his special duties as a member of the Commission, advantage to the individual cultivator might be expected to result from his enquiries and from the advice which he would be in a position to tender to Her Majesty's Government. Mr. Caird, therefore, thought it his duty to submit the enclosed report and I shall be glad to receive any observations which Your Excellency's Government may desire to offer on the important questions raised therein."

The available good land in India is nearly all occupied. There are extensive areas of good waste land, covered with jungle, in various parts of the country, which might be reclaimed and rendered suitable for cultivation, but for that object capital must be employed and the people have little to spare. The produce of the country on an average of years is barely sufficient to maintain the present population and make a saving for occasional famine. The greatest export of rice and corn in one year is not more than 10 day's consumption of its inhabitants. Scarcity, deepening into famine, is thus becoming of more frequent occurrence. The people may be assumed to increase at the moderate rate of one per cent per year. The check caused by the late famine, through 5 million of extra deaths, spread as it was over 2 years and a half, would thus be equal only to the normal increase over all India for that time. In 10 years at the present rate of growth, there will be 20 million more people to feed, in 20 years upwards of 40 millions. This must be met by an increase of produce arising from better management of the cultivated area, and enlargement of its extent by migration to un-peopled districts, and by emigration to other countries. We are dealing with a country already full of people, whose habits and religion promote increase without restraint, and whose law directs the sub-division of land among all the male children. As rulers, we are thus brought face to face with a growing difficulty. There are more people every year to feed from land which, in many parts of India, is undergoing gradual deterioration. Of this there can be no stronger proof than that the land revenue in some quarters is diminishing. It is unsafe to break up more of the uncultivated poor land. The diminution of pasture thereby already caused, is showing its effect in a lessening proportion of working cattle for an increasing area of cultivation.

The pressure on the means of subsistence is rendered more severe by the moral disorganisation produced by laws affecting property and debt, not adapted to the condition of the people. In most parts of India, as shown by the late proceedings in the Legislative Council on the Deccan ryots Relief Bill, and as is plain to any careful observer in the country, the people are not only dissatisfied with our legal system but while the creditor is not much enriched, the debtor is being impoverished by it. Those officials who

see this feel themselves powerless to influence a central authority far removed from them, subject to no control of public opinion, and over-burdened with details with which it is incapable of dealing.

We have introduced a system the first object of which, for a foreign government, is necessarily the subjection of the people. This is rendered possible by the religious difference between the Hindus and Mahommedans which prevents their union against us, and they are in such proportion that the larger number of the first prevents the most warlike character of the second assuming predominance. We are accepted as the arbiters of justice to both, and the protectors of the weak against the strong. The handful of Englishmen could not hold these multitudes on any other principle. The strength we wield is a powerful army, now by the aid of railway and telegraph capable of rapid concentration on any threatened point. We run the government through British officers stationed in every district of the country, who under the supervision of the respective governments, administer law, command the police and superintend the collection of the revenue. Native officers are employed under them, both in the judicial and revenue departments, in large parts, to whom the drudgery of government is committed. The whole number of such officers, not reckoning the native army or police, is not more than one in 10,000 of the people. The English officers are not one in 200,000, strangers in language, religion and colour, with feelings and ideas quite different from theirs and enforcing a system of law, the justice of which they are slow to comprehend, while its costliness and delay are manifest.

see this feel themselves powerless to influence a central authority far removed from them, subject to no control of public opinion, and over-burdened with details with which it is incapable of dealing.

We have introduced a system the first object of which, for a foreign government, is necessarily the subjection of the people. This is rendered possible by the religious difference between the Hindus and Mahommedans which prevents their union against us, and they are in such proportion that the larger number of the first prevents the most warlike character of the second assuming predominance. We are accepted as the arbiters of justice to both, and the protectors of the weak against the strong. The handful of Englishmen could not hold these multitudes on any other principle. The strength we wield is a powerful army, now by the aid of railway and telegraph capable of rapid concentration on any threatened point. We run the government through British officers stationed in every district of the country, who under the supervision of the respective governments, administer law, command the police and superintend the collection of the revenue. Native officers are employed under them, both in the judicial and revenue departments, in large parts, to whom the drudgery of government is committed. The whole number of such officers, not reckoning the native army or police, is not more than one in 10,000 of the people. The English officers are not one in 200,000, strangers in language, religion and colour, with feelings and ideas quite different from theirs and enforcing a system of law, the justice of which they are slow to comprehend, while its costliness and delay are manifest.

By our centralising system we have drifted away from the Patriarchal method of rule common in the East, where the populations are agricultural and dense, under which the management of the people is left to their natural leaders, the headmen of the villages, hereditary or elected by the people, who are recognised by the community and who administer justice and preserve order, and are responsible for the public revenue. We have superseded this by discrediting the headman, and in Madras and Bombay by an attempt to bring millions of landholders into direct contact with the Government, through native officials of a low type (for the higher class of officers rarely have time to see them) and with a theory that our European officers, so few in number, will be able to personally supervise this arrangement, which is physically impossible. The Headmen, no longer recognised or treated as leaders, and seldom communicated with, except through the lower class of native officials (who are said to be apt to take advantage of their position to extort bribes) become distrustful of us, and are distrusted by us. I rarely met a civilian in India who did not speak of the Headmen with distrust. The British merchants who carry on their great business in India make no similar complaint of the native merchants whom they find upright and honest. Our officers do not know the natives as they used to do when our government was less centralised, and they are every year becoming more strange to the people by the increase of indoor judicial duties, and the frequent changes from one locality to another.

Following out our English ideas by collecting the land revenue in the convenient shape of money, we superseded the old principle of taking it in kind, in certain proportions of the produce, according to the value of the land. This is an ancient and common principle in all countries, both East and West, and prevails still in most Eastern States and in many parts of Europe in the Metayer system. It is specially suited to small cultivators having little or no capital and it carries within it a natural check on overpopulation. For, when payment of rent is made by a share of the crop, the cultivator, if he finds that his land requires rest from overcropping, lets it rest in fallow, as he saves in rent when he leaves the land idle. He must thus hold a larger area than he requires to keep under crop, and this operates against over density of population. **The share of the owner is greater in seasons of abundance, and when the crop fails the cultivator is not called to pay what he does not possess***. The owner is also interested in rendering the land productive, and is more ready to co-operate with the cultivator in such improvements as are calculated to increase the incomes of both. And there would not be now the same difficulty in India as in former times in realising the owner's share as roads and railways have opened up markets where it can be readily disposed of. The European officers say that it would be impossible now to revert to this system, because the detail would be overpowering and the opportunities for oppression by the lower class

of native officials and of fraud by the cultivators would be largely increased. This may be true under foreign rule like ours, but it possessed two qualities of great value; first, a self-adjusting action of reassessment, instead of the arbitrary reassessments which are now the cause of great cost to the Government and much annoyance to the people; and second, comparative independence of the moneylender who has become the source of most of the litigation which has since overspread the country. There is the best proof of its success in the fact that, while those native governments who thus levy the revenue, obtain a land rent twice that of ours, the people are not only able to pay, but, with the exception of the moneylenders, rarely show any desire to seek easier terms of passing into British territory. The principle is so sound and suitable to the condition of the majority of the people, that the government would be justified in making trial of it in various parts of India, by careful painstaking officers, who might find themselves fully recompensed for the additional labour by the intimate personal knowledge of the people which they would thereby acquire. And the Government proportion might be sold to the native bankers and dealers, from whom our officers are strong enough to prevent oppression.

From the comments of the Government of India to Mr. Caird's Report, No.38 of 1880, dated June 8, 1880, from the Home, Revenue and Local Departments to the Secretary of State for India.

Your Lordship's predecessor forwarded to us, under cover of his Dispatch No.7, dated 22nd January 1880, a report which had been addressed to him by Mr. James Caird on "The Condition of India"; and Lord Cranbrook asked me for any observations which we might desire to offer on the important questions raised therein. Mr. Caird travelled through several provinces of India during the cold season of 1878-79. He had been appointed to serve on the Famine Commission by reason of his wide agricultural and economic knowledge, and he was specially invited to tender advice to Her Majesty's Government on questions affecting the agricultural population of India. The present report was submitted in compliance with that invitation.

(Side Note:- General notice of Report.)

2. Mr. Caird's report was submitted a few months after his return from India. It is brief, and contains little notice of the facts, arguments and considerations upon which his criticisms and suggestions may have been founded; nor does the report advert to the long discussions which have taken place on nearly all the suggestions which are now made. We desire to express our respect for Mr. Caird's high qualifications for the duty with which he was entrusted and we hope that India and the Indian peasantry may benefit from his presence on the Famine Commission. That respect and that hope are in no wise diminished, because in the following observations we are compelled to challenge some of his premises, and to demur to some of his conclusions.

(Side Note - Summary of Report.)

3. Briefly, Mr. Caird's Report may be summarized thus. India is in subjection to a foreign government. This subjection is rendered possible by the difference of religion between Hindus and Muhammedans, and is maintained by a powerful army. The vastness of India and the multitudinous diversity of Indian peoples and Indian circumstances make the good government of India a peculiarly difficult problem. British India is parcelled out into several minor governments, all of which are controlled by the Central or supreme Government. This Central Government-- the Government of India--meddles in matters of local administration to the detriment of the local country and people. Decentralization of authority is required. The several local governments should have full power in their own territories and should be subordinate direct to the Secretary of State in London, one of the local Governors being allowed power to summon the other Governors to a general council in matters of great importance. The local legislatures should have full power to make laws for their respective provinces, and there should be no Central Legislature. From such localisation of control much economy and much benefit to the people would result.*

(Side Note - Public Works.)

The Central Department of Public Works should at once be abolished, the control of public works being left entirely to local governments. The employment of native engineers should be encouraged. No works should be undertaken with borrowed money without sanction of the Secretary of State in each case. Agricultural works should be maintained by the people themselves, under a system similar to that adopted in Egypt. Meanwhile the investment of British capital in India should be encouraged. Railways should be constructed by private enterprise, with a Government guarantee of 3 per cent on the capital outlay. The coal resources of India should be specially sought out, and developed, railways being made to mines.

(Side Note - Employment of natives, and the Civil Service.)

Native Indians should be more largely employed in the administration of the country. All details of judicial, revenue and executive business should be left to them. Natives of India, serving in their own country, would require less pay than Europeans for doing the same duties. One or two European officers should be posted in every district for purposes of supervision; and such officers should be employed as much as possible in the same districts, transfers of officers from one district to another being avoided. The Civil Service of India should be abolished. The best men should be taken wherever they could be found; and the civil administration should be manned mainly by officers from the British Army.

(Side Note - Legal and judicial system.)

English laws introduced by the British into India are unsuited to the country and to the people, who are dissatisfied with our judicial system. This system plunges the mass of people into debt. It ruins debtors without benefiting creditors. Pleaders should be excluded from petty courts of justice, and the fees on petty litigation should be abolished. As far as possible, civil cases should be decided by local juries (panchayats) and local notables. If in this way natives were more largely employed, and if native methods were followed, towns and districts of British India might vie with the happiness and liveliness now so apparent at the Capitals of native States.

(Side Note - Overpopulation)

Overpopulation, and the too rapid increase of the people are the great difficulty of Indian Administration. The condition of the landless labourer in the rural tracts is especially hard; wages do not rise, and he is becoming more and more depressed. The land system should be so arranged as to restrain the increase of population; while at the same time, emigration to the less-peopled parts of India should be promoted. New industries should be found and encouraged, so as to give work to the labouring classes, who are at present inadequately employed. Improved facilities should be given for opening up and cultivating waste lands.

(Side Note - Land tenure and land revenue.)

British rule has destroyed the village or annual system; has effaced the village and tribal chiefs, who were the natural leaders of the peasantry; has substituted money for corn rents, to the disadvantage both of the State and the people; has given landholders power to mortgage and sell their land, thereby enabling them to ruin themselves. The country is harassed by periodical remeasurement of the land and detailed enquiries for the settlement of revenue. The proper course

is to restore the village system, and to improve the status of village headmen; to whom should be left the settlement of petty disputes. Recourse should be had, where possible, to the old system of corn rents; opportunity should be taken to withdraw the landholder's power of selling or mortgaging his tenure. At the same time all landholders should be encouraged to redeem the land tax on their lands, and so to be possessors of freeholds, over which they would have absolute proprietary powers. The payments made for such redemption should be spread over a period of 35 years, and should be invested by the Government in paying off the public debt and in constructing railways or other works of permanent improvement. The causes of the harassment to the people, inseparable from periodical regular settlements of land revenue, should be avoided by readjusting the Government demand on a review of the village cadastral records, which are framed yearly in much detail. Compensation for permanent improvements should always be given to landholders or to tenants.*

(Side Note - Agriculture)

The soil of the cultivated lands of India is deteriorating and being exhausted. The land revenue is in parts diminishing, food sufficient for the people is not produced. At the same time, the land is capable of more production. New agricultural staples should be introduced, and the old staples should be improved. Cotton, especially, which is never irrigated, should be made to yield a far heavier outturn to the acre. A special impost of Rs.2 an acre should be imposed on the better crops such as sugar, tobacco, opium, jute and other irrigated crops. This would yield an additional revenue of two million sterling, and would materially help to restore the financial prosperity of the country. The production of food should be stimulated by taking off export duty on food grains. And an important reform should be introduced in agriculture of inducing the people to grow fodder crops, for the lack of which, the cattle suffer greatly all over India.

4. Mr. Caird's remarks on the several heads of his subject are to be found in different parts of his pamphlet; but we propose to group our observations under the several heads of:

I. Administration and legislatures.
II. Public works.
III. Employment of natives; and the Civil services.
IV. Legal and judicial system.
V. Overpopulation.
VI. Land tenures.
VII. Agriculture.

Vol. XIII

BEGINNING OF EXTORTION, MOLESTATION, PLUNDER, PRESSING OF MEN, CATTLE, SUPPLIES IN BRITISH DOMINATED ARCOT, AND THE LARGER CARNATIC UNDER THE SHIELD OF THE HELPLESS AND HUMILIATED BRITISH APPOINTED NABOB OF ARCOT: C. 1750 - 1800 *

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* Admiral Sir Robert Harland was a special envoy from the British Government especially to South India to report on the state of events at the time. The occurrences narrated here for 1770-72, are again similarly described by Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras Presidency, in his long minute of 1795 regarding what was happening in the Madras Presidency as also in Bengal, Bihar, etc., and wherever the British were beginning to dominate.

Compiled by
Dharampal

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Note: The bold text (*) in this document is the emphasis added by the Editor-Compiler and is not part of the original document.

1. ROBERT HARLAND CONVEYS NAWAB OF ARCOT'S HELPLESSNESS AND HUMILIATION TO LONDON: SEPT 1772

IOL: Home Misc. 111 (East Indies vol. 19) 1773: Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd 10.4.1773, pp.1-15

Fort St. George, 25th September 1772

My Lord,

It makes me extremely happy to be able to inform your Lordship, that by the arrival of His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, the ninth of August from the Mauritius, the accounts which have been already forwarded to your Lordship of the French leaving India are confirmed; and enclosed, I send a copy of the Remarks made at those islands by Mr. Colpoys who was acting Captain of His Majesty's ship at the time, and whom I cannot recommend too much for his extraordinary prudence and diligence in discharge of that duty.

The Nassau Indiaman arrived at this place the third of September, and brought a letter from the Cape of Good Hope dated the twenty ninth of June, by which I am informed, that La Belle Poule a French Frigate of 36 guns and 250 men, had just come into False Bay, on her way to the Isle de France, with Monsr. le Chevalier de Ternay on board, who is to succeed to the Government of the Islands, in the room of le Chavalier des Roches.

I had informed your Lordship in my letter No. IX (a triplicate of which accompanies this) of the Nabob's success against the Marwar and of the fall of Ramnahdporam his Capital, with other circumstances attending the reduction of that country. Since that time, the Naalcooty's country also has been reduced to the Nabob's obedience, the Polygar himself slain and Caracoil his capital taken by surprise. The circumstances attending which are fully related in the young Nabob's letter to his father. I also took occasion in Letter No. IX to mention the licentious spirit of the soldiery in this country; and I am very sorry that the behaviour of the officers who surprised Caracoil was such, both to the young Nabob and to the General, as to make it very evident, that they have not the smallest respect for dignity of character, nor a proper sense of military subordination.

On the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches of August the thirtieth 1771, I endeavoured to communicate to the Nabob everything contained in them respecting himself or country; but on his expressing a desire to have such articles in writing, as either required explanation, or to which an answer might be expected from him, I gave him copies of the correspondence between your Lordship and the Directors, accompanied with a letter of which the paper referred to is a copy. These were all translated into Persian, and after his Highness and his Councellors had maturely considered everything which had been communicated to them from your Lordship's dispatches, and what had passed in several conversations I have had with them on the subject, I had the honour of receiving his answer dated the twenty fourth of September 1772 or 25 Jemadisanni 1186. A copy of which accompanies this.

This letter of the Nabob appears to me to be very full and very explicit. It seems to contain in as few words as possible, the heads of everything he had formerly communicated either to Sir John Lindsay or to me; and the particulars which had till now been variously told and diffused amongst a great number of papers, are in this Letter, presented in one series of articles to your Lordship.

The Nabob's principal aim seems to be, to convince His Majesty, that his real and sincere desire is to maintain the strictest connexion with the Company; and that nothing is farther from his mind, than any wish to diminish the friendship, that at present subsists between them and him. But he thinks he has great reason to complain of the conduct of their servants, and produces a number of instances, wherein their behaviour does not appear to him, to have corresponded with the friendly intentions of their masters. And he is firmly persuaded, that things are misrepresented in England, or the Company never could think they had any cause to find fault with his conduct, or to entertain a doubt of his friendship.

Besides the repetition of many things already set forth in former letters, the Nabob has entered much more fully with me into the discussion of some abuses, which have been continued to be practiced in his country till very lately. These, I am desired to communicate to your Lordship, and as all those communications have been regularly entered in my Diary, the accompanying extracts with the copies of some letters, which have passed between His Highness and former Governors, will explain those matters very fully to your Lordship. At the same time the Nabob desires me to acquaint your Lordship that these communications have been made to me in the fullest confidence, and he seems exceedingly anxious, that they may not be made use of to the prejudice of any of the persons concerned. His purpose will be fully answered if the particular instances given, make it appear that his complaints have not been groundless, and that care may be taken to prevent such abuses for the future. This very anxiety, and the fear of losing friends and getting enemies by hurting individuals, have prevented him hitherto from speaking his mind so freely, as he otherwise would have done; and I have taken upon me to assure His Highness, that the wisdom of administration, will always have a very delicate regard, to whatever, he is pleased to communicate to them in confidence.

The practice of lending money to the Nabob began in the days of his greatest distress when his country was ruined by the ravages of the French and their Indian allies; and when he was obliged to borrow of any one who would lend him to defray the most trifling expences of his family at an interest of thirty or forty percent per annum or even more. He was also at that time obliged to make use of the same means of raising money, to pay the very large sums, even to sixty lacks of rupees in one year, to reimburse the Company immediately on the conclusion of the French War in India. When he had no resources left in his country already ruined and desolated by both European and Indian enemies. This heavy interest added half yearly or quarterly to the principal and bearing the same annual interest very soon produced immense fortunes to individuals, while such prospects of gain increased the (p.5) number of the Nabob's creditors, and the load of his private debt.

But whatever advantages were produced to individuals by this method of lending money to the Nabob, it was found by the Company's servants that much more was to be got by furnishing money to the Amuldahrs and Renters of the Circar, which they did at three four or five percent per mensem, renewing the bond and adding the interest to the principal every two months, so as together with the premium, to produce an annual profit of sixty, seventy or hundred percent. This very soon produced numberless bankruptcies amongst the Nabob's Renters; both the crops and effects, were seized upon to pay the money lenders to the utmost farthing and the farmers having neither money nor credit, were obliged to leave their habitations to others, who following the same stops, became involved in the same manner. Besides, any man of bad intentions, and in bad circumstances, either from his own extravagancies or otherwise, finding the ready disposition of the Company's servants to lend money, borrowed at any interest, and were willing to pay any premium. By this means, although they should prove deficient in their payments to the Circar, they were either sure to find protectors, from the interest of the Creditors, to keep them in their Amuldahrry or Farm. Or should the Nabob insist on turning them out for bad management or non-payment, they were sure to make off with the money they had borrowed, leaving their all mortgaged to their creditors, which was seized upon for payment of their debts, while the Circar revenues or debts remained unpaid. (p.6)

Thus the Nabob not only lost revenues, but even the country lost inhabitants. The only remedy left was for the Nabob to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds of his own for the payment of the whole principal and interest, at twenty or twenty five percent before the reduction of the interest and afterwards at ten percent per annum. By this means, he saved the country though at a great expence and an addition to his private debt. But there have also been instances when Renters have proved deficient to the company, and who were also involved with individuals though at the same time deeply indebted to the Nabob. That at the desire of the Governor (which had the force of a command to him then) he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself and give bonds for the same, bearing interest according to the rate of the times and in this manner the money was secured to the lender, while the Nabob's debts were increased both to the Company and to individuals. The papers referred to are translations of Cadjanna Memorials, or what may be properly enough called orders on the Nabob's Treasury for the payment of such moneys as cannot be stated in their accounts, under any other head but that of Enaum or free gift. These will serve as illustrations of the above.

It seems this practice of lending money had always met with encouragement from the Governors, or at least had been winked at, and the money lenders met with protection and assistance from them; but about a month ago this Governor acquainted the Nabob that he was resolved to forbid this practice under the severest penalties which was done accordingly. This the Nabob long wished for, but never could obtain till now when he supposes the Governor had heard (p.7) of his making such communications to me.*

The instance that the Nabob gives of what he calls interfering with his justice happened in 1765, when a great Renter was confined by the Cutcherie of Arcot for money owing to the Circar and released by an order from the Governor without an application to the Nabob. I have sent copies of the correspondence between him and the Governor on that subject, by which it appears that although the one thought himself exceedingly injured, the other justifies the measure; but the Extract from the Diary referred to, will serve to throw some light on this transaction.

What he mentions about his Bazar happened in 1771, and which he tells me was communicated to Sir John Lindsay at the time, when the Mayor's Court of Madras shewed a disposition to subject his Bazar to their Jurisdiction. This alarmed him exceedingly as the Bazar makes a very necessary part of his household and he complained of it accordingly. Since that time no such attempt has been made; but he is not free of apprehension on that head; and he thinks it no more than common justice, that he should have the same authority over his own people in the Company's Jaghire, which they have over their people in this country. This with what the Nabob has expressed in his letter to me, I think sufficiently explains what he meant by the company's servants interfering with his justice that the liberty he required of exercising judicial authority was over his own people only, when in the Company's Jaghire, and by no means over the subjects of England anywhere.

The great abuses of the indulgence which the (p.8) Nabob never refused to all the Company's servants, of transporting their baggage and everything belonging to them through his country duty free, has been the source of the greatest inconvenience to the trading part of his subjects. For merchandize of all kinds being transported under the sanction of a commanding Officer or a paymaster of a Garrison, or some person of distinction in the Company's service, centres all the trade with them*. Some of the Company's servants have even applied for leave to transport goods duty free, but this the Nabob has absolutely refused, for though he should be disposed to favour one, the advantage could not rest entirely with him for any length of time, he would find himself deprived of a very considerable branch of revenue, and of every trading subject in his country; but to show favour, as

* Emphasis added by Editor-compiler

he calls it he has compounded for a sum of money, with some of those, who from their interest, or station fancied themselves entitled to make a certain annual profit by their office.

The pressing of his people to serve as coolies, and their bullocks to carry baggage, which ought to be employed for the purpose of cultivation, are what would appear to be some of the Nabob's greatest grievances. This, with other practices of Europeans which are considered as exceedingly oppressive by the inhabitants are sufficiently explained in the papers referred to.*

The Nabob has summed up everything which he wants of the Company in twenty four articles, very few of which want any explanation, as most of them are either so plain of themselves, or have already been so very fully mentioned in other (p.9) papers communicated to the Secretary of State, either by Sir John Lindsay or me. However, there are some circumstances which I am desired by the Nabob to communicate to your Lordship which may assist in forming a judgement of the propriety of the request.

The Treaty of Peace and friendship with the Mahrattas, seems to be, in the Nabob's opinion, essentially necessary for the well being of his country, and of the English interest in India; but he desires that whatever conditions may be thought necessary on the part of the English nation, or of the Company, the acquisition of the Gatts as a western boundary to the Carnatick may be admitted to make a part of the basis of any Treaty, that may take place with the Mahrattas. This he says they are very well disposed to grant; it will add greatly to the security of the Carnatick, and it has been frequently promised him by the Company's servants.

With respect to the Jaghire, the Nabob wishes to have the renting of it confirmed to him and to his successor, for many reasons mentioned in several former letters already forwarded to the Secretary of State. But he has mentioned one more to me, that could he depend on being continued renter, it would encourage him to lay out money in the cultivation and improvement of the country, which could not fail of being very advantageous both to the Company and to him; but which cannot be expected of him, while threatened with being deprived of the Jaghire every successive year. However, from a copy of the Company's letter by the Duke of Grafton, it appears they are disposed to continue the Jaghire in (p.10) his management.

The Nabob seems determined, not on any account whatever to increase the number of sepoys on the establishment of the seven Battalions at present in the Company's pay, but says that he will provide sepoys and force enough of his own against all emergencies. At present he says all is profound peace, and no increase of troops appears to him to be necessary; he has explained himself very fully on this subject in the fifth article; and it appears to me that though it may be possible to advise him to such concessions, he does not seem disposed to receive them as commands.

During the time of the siege of Tanjore, an agreement had been negotiated or was negotiating between the Nabob's son then in the field, and the Army, that should the place be taken by storm, they were to have a certain sum of money instead of the plunder; as an accommodation took place between the Nabob and the Rajah, this agreement fell to the ground, and the Army were disappointed in their expectations. Discontents, caballing and representations followed, which produced a letter from the Board to the General, wherein amongst other things the Board gave it as their opinion, that it was in consequence of taking place by storm only, that the Army were entitled to the plunder. But as Tanjore was not taken at all, there was no plunder; therefore they had no right to expect any gratification on that account. However, should the Nabob be disposed to give them a free gift, their regard for the Army, they said, would make them encourage such a disposition. The expeditions against the Marwar and Naalcooty followed soon afterwards; and as it was (p.11) the accommodation with Tanjore alone, which prevented the Army from receiving an immense sum of ransom money, Ramnadporam was stormed nobody knew how; but it was after terms had been partly agreed upon and might have bee soon adjusted, had not the Troops rushed into the place, during some little misunderstanding, which happened at the time amongst the Marwar's people. Caracoil fell next, and was taken by surprise while the Naalcooty's Vaqueels were in actual treaty with the young Nabob and the General. By which the place became forfeited to the army.

After the siege of Tanjore was raised, the Nabob agreed to give five lacks of rupees to the army as a free gift, in recompence for their fatigues of the siege. At Ramnadporam which was taken by storm, his son agreed to give a certain sum to each officer to redeem the place from pillage and on the surprise of Caracoil the young Nabob was obliged to compound for fifty thousand Pagodas with the troops on the spot. Although the Circar troops were employed on all these services, and suffered inconveniences, dangers and fatigues alike with the Company's, yet the Company's officers claim the whole of the Nabob's present, to the total exclusion of his own natural troops*. This produced the eighteenth article in the Nabob's letter.

In those twenty four articles is contained the substance of everything the Nabob wishes in order to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the Company from which, I think, it will appear, that he is neither extravagant nor unreasonable. And he himself is now in hopes that since his affairs are so well understood, (p.12) they may be finally adjusted with the Company in England under the friendly protection of His Majesty; or on the spot, should the King be graciously disposed to follow that method, and should it be more agreeable to the Company under the eye of one of His Majesty's own immediate servants, and any one whom the Company may depute for that purpose.*

This my Lord, I think, finishes all the Nabob's business, as far it depends on any information which can be transmitted either of the situation of his affairs, of his disputes with the Company's servants or of his applications for redress, and to complete everything which I can transmit of the state of the country. **I have also enclosed extracts from my Diary, of some transactions which are well known to almost everybody here. By which many of the inhabitations have been ruined, but by which Your Lordship will see, that the Company's servants in high stations, had other means of getting fortunes, besides improving their money either by Trade or lending it at interest and this will assist, to account for the immense riches, which have fallen to the share of some individuals in India.**

I have not had an opportunity of being so well acquainted with the state of the Northern Circars, as they are entirely under the direction of the Company's servants, and all will have the appearance of mystery and secrecy, but the fortunes made at Masulipatnam, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and other residences both by the Chiefs themselves, the Councellors, their favourites and friends, are immense. I am very well informed that the Chief of Masulipatnam makes not less than one lack of Pagodas, and the (p.13) chief of Vizagapatnam two lacks of rupees every year exclusive of what may be got by trade, which indeed is but little attended to, and the allowance they make to the Governor of Fort. St. George. The methods therefore are, new letting the farms for which nazirs or fines are paid to the Chief and every person officially concerned. The making war and peace with the refractory Rajahs, each of which carries its reward with it and the lending money to the inhabitants at a high interest. These loans are not always voluntary; but they are means of getting fortunes well understood by the lender, and which the borrower dares not refuse. This practice prevails universally through all the Company's Circars, from the highest to the lowest in their service at this day. Money is frequently borrowed in Madras at eight percent to be improved to twenty five, thirty, forty or more percent per annum in the Company's Circars.*

Accounts from Bengal mention, that the new Governor Hastings is on a tour through the provinces, in order to introduce such regulations as may seem necessary; and that he has established a very rigid system of economy by which the company will be immense gainers every year.

The King Shah Allum is at Delhi, perfectly out of the Company's power, and has been ever since I came to this country. This has made me regret exceedingly that the situation of things has been such, as to put it absolutely out of my power, either to carry or to send by any proper messenger the King's letters (p.14) and presents to His Imperial Majesty. However, that he might not be ignorant of His Britannick Majesty's friendship and that he had been graciously pleased to entrust such testimonies of it to my care, I took the liberty to send copies and Persian Translations of His Majesty's letters to Shah Allum, with one from myself, of which the paper referred to is a copy. They were forwarded to Delhi by a Vaqueel sent expressly by the Nabob with an arshdaust from himself to the Patcha of Indostan. This measure I flatter myself will meet with His Majesty's approbation.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Du Pre of which the enclosed is a copy, acquainting me of his instructions from the Court of Directors, to be on his guard as they had cause to be apprehensive that the French still had hostile intentions with respect to India. I have sent him such extracts as I judged necessary from Mr. Colpoys's Remarks made at the Mauritius together with Extracts of such articles of Intelligence as I have received from the Cape on the subject, and I have told him in the terms of the letter referred to, that as I have had no information from administration, I am apt to imagine there is no cause to be apprehensive of danger from that quarter at present. However, as I shall very soon sail for Bombay with the squadron to refit during the monsoon where I may expect to receive fresh instructions from your Lordship, I shall take such measures for ample information as shall seem expedient and that I shall communicate the same to the respective presidencies. But should he still think it either (p.15) useful or necessary, I shall be ready to send a sloop either to the Cape or to the Islands.

Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Du Pre's answer in which he agrees with me in opinion; but as I am informed that there is a probability that no ship will be dispatched from this presidency this year, and as I mean to leave nothing undone to promote the security of the Company's possessions, I have resolved to send the Hanke Sloop to the Cape of Good-Hope to endeavour to procure every possible information with respect to the state of the French force in India; with instructions to the Commanding Officer to use every such means on his return, as may best answer the intentions of his voyage. I intend sending my dispatches to your Lordship by the same opportunity under the care of the Honourable Mr. Finch, with directions to proceed with them from the Cape in the first homeward bound ship for England.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient and most humble servant,

R. Harland

2. NAWAB'S HURT AT MADRAS GOVERNOR'S UNGRACIOUSNESS: SEPT. 1772

IOR: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773, pp. 17-19.

Fort St. George, 28 Sept 1772

My Lord,

The accompanying letter of the Nabob's, dated the Twenty sixth of September 1772 or 27th Jemadisanni 1186 Hizyra, which I have just received, wants very little explanation; but as many things are repeated in it, which are contained in the former letter, it may serve to give your Lordship some idea of the anxiety of the Nabob's mind, about the particulars therein mentioned; and of the sense he has of the ungracious conduct of the Governor, with respect to him, and to everything that belongs to his family.

I have sent along with this, all the papers enclosed in the Nabob's letter to me, except Mr. Pigot's agreement in 1760, and his letter to the Begum, and Mr. Bourchiers agreement in 1768, which I understand have already been sent to the Secretary of State by Sir John Lindsay. The Nabob, I believe, means by these to convince your Lordship that no former Governor would have refused him the same request he had made to Mr. Du Pre, and as I cannot conceive it possible, he never could think of giving any of the Nabob's family any support or protection against him, I am astonished the Governor refused this indulgence. (p.18)

The rest of the letter appears to me to want no explanation. The Nabob seems to think that after doing everything to oblige the company, their servants have made him but indifferent returns. That he has an undoubted right to the sole jurisdiction over his own people, in any part of his country, of which he esteems the Company's possessions as part, although enjoyed by them as Jaghire. That the conduct of the Company's Representatives, do not correspond with the favourable intentions of their Masters to him. That the advantage accruing both him and to the Company from his having English officers to his troops, and the necessity he is under of employing some Europeans immediately about his person, and in his family, such as Accountants and Surgeons, could not have been faithfully explained from hence or the Company, he thinks, would rather have contributed to his indulgence, than the contrary; and that he is still jealous of the encroachments of the Company's servants, unless their masters send positive orders to the contrary.

It has been told the Nabob, that Mr. Charles Smith, Mr. Monckton and others, who lent money at a high interest to the renters of the Jaghire, and who were complained against in the year 1770, have been severely censured in England for such practices. This has given him great concern as his wishes were to prevent the evil, but not on any account to hurt an individual. This benevolence of disposition has moved the Nabob to write a letter to the Governor, desiring (p.19) him to intercede for them in his name, and the accompanying paper is a copy of a translation which he has sent to me that I might forward it to your Lordship with the same request from the Nabob.*

I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordships most obedient
and most humble servant,
Rb. Harland

3. NAWAB RESENTS COMPANY'S INTERFERENCE IN LIFE OF HIS SUBJECTS: SEPT. 1772

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - (P/1. NAWAB TO SIR ROBERT HARLAND, 24.9.1772. (Translation), pp. 177-195 (extracts)

(181) It is true that since my residence at Madras, I have experienced no small inconvenience from the Company's servants interfering in matters of justice..

(182) ...have been relieved by an order from the Governor without making any application to me. By which my dignity is wounded and my revenue suffered. Also an attempt has been made to establish a judicial authority over my Bazar. Now my Bazar is a necessary part of my household over which I have a natural jurisdiction, which I cannot give up. I am always ready to do justice when any application is made to me. Or if the Company's servants agree to furnish my household with everything and in such manner as I may want, I can move my Bazar to my own country; but to suffer any other justice than my own, to intrude itself into my family is a priviledge of a prince I cannot forego.

I never had the least idea or wish to have any judicial authority over the subjects of England; but to make the injustice of their assumed authority over my people the more striking, I mentioned the natural right I had to expect the same usage from them, which they required of me. There are many things which may appear but trifling circumstances to Europeans, and yet are of consequence to the good government of a people, different in their religions, peculiar in their customs, and distinct in their manners. Besides as the revenues of this country depend entirely on the cultivation and fertility of the ground, to promote these becomes the principal object of the prince's care. Need I complain then of that arbitrary exertion of authority in the Company's servants over my people? To press for purposes of servitude the natives and their bullocks which are destined for the cultivation of the ground. To oblige them to borrow money at an exhorbitant interest for which their property and the produce of their industry is mortgaged. To take by force or to oblige them to furnish what they had laid up for the supply of their families, or for the purposes of husbandry, at a low price or for nothing, to enter into and to make use of their houses at pleasure; even to enter the apartments of the women whose cast require them to be seen by their husbands only. Are these hardships? And when all these exertions of power are exercised by the Dubashes also over their countrymen under the cloak of their masters. With the rod of authority constantly in their hands: and when consequent punishments follow the most trifling offence. When demands are made without end; and remission to be obtained for money only. All these are grievances much more intolerable than any attempt to interfere with justice. Because such prevent cultivation, disappoint industry, ruin and distress my people, diminish my revenues and desolate my country.

After six and twenty years constant and uniform attachment to the Company, after refusing every offer, and rejecting every temptation from European and Indian powers to detach myself from them, after embarking my whole fortune with theirs, and when we are so joined that our mutual prosperity must depend on a close union and intimate connexion with one anther, it would be below my dignity, and an insult to their understanding, to think any fresh declarations of friendship necessary. I know it is my interest to be connected with the English Company forever, and they never had nor ever can have such a friend in India as I have been, and still am to them. Therefore, while mutual interests connects us so strongly to one another, let them never believe any insinuations, that it is my wish to detach myself from them. But they may give me credit when I tell them, that such insinuations are produced by the decline of another interest, the support of which, is not consistent either with theirs or mine.

(i) LOANS FORCED ON PEOPLE AT 48% P.A.

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/3. COPY OF A LETTER FROM SAID AASEM CAWN BAHADUR TO CAPT. FLETCHER BAHADUR, COMMANDING THE GARRISON AT ONGOLE, DATED THE 28TH JULY 1772, pp. 197-198.

I have received your letter to me - accompanied with an arzee for his Highness the Nabob, with a paper under the Signature of Ramiah renter. In yours you wrote that the said renter had given it under his hand to pay your money in twenty days; but that you had received the principal only without interest and that you required an order for him to pay the interest also. I have laid these before the Nabob and am commanded to acquaint you that his Highness is very sensible when the inhabitants want money they will borrow it at any interest without considering whether ever it will be in their power to repay the same, but when the time of payment comes, and they find it impossible to answer the demand of their creditors, they run away by which means the country is ruined by the loss of its inhabitants.

It is the custom and orders of the Company that no money should be lent at more than 10 percent per annum, **but you have made the inhabitants give it under their hands to pay you at the rate of forty eight (48) percent per annum. It is absolutely impossible for them to pay such interest, therefore they must be ruined and the country with them and even then the lender disappointed in his expectations**.* To prevent all these His Highness commands me to acquaint you that out of pure friendship for you, he is willing to pay you this interest for this once himself, and has given orders to his amuldahr accordingly; but he has strictly enjoined me not to suffer any money to be lent to any of the inhabitants, amuldahrs or servants of the circar for the future. I am therefore to request the favour of you not to do so yourself, nor suffer any of your servants to do so, that we may be not brought into difficulties on that account. I am always your friend.

What can I say more?

P.S.: I send you herewith the Nabob's answer to your letter and an order from Rogal Pundet to Ramiah.

(ii) EXHORBITANT INTEREST

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/4. TRANSLATION OF INTELLIGENCE FROM ONGOLE DATED 27 RABBISANNY 1186 REGYNA OR 29TH JULY 1772, pp. 327-330

Mr. Fletcher Bahadur (himself) has money transactions with fourteen village people in the time of Monudharam Cawn and Idrat Talab Cawn (Nabob's managers) which comes to a hundred (100) percent interest to this time, of which the inhabitants have paid part, which he deducted out of the interest. The remaining interest he added to the principal which is now is his account with the inhabitants, the whole bearing interest, that they may not be ever clear from his debt giving them trouble and disturbance in such a manner that they cannot bear, of which the renter being informed he gave orders to some of the village people to clear the debt. Some of the inhabitants had no abilities to pay. There is one village called Woolagee the produce of which is seven hundred (700) pagodas per annum, and Capt. Fletcher's demand upon it is five hundred (500) pagodas. In such manner are the transactions of the Europeans with the inhabitants of fourteen villages. Therefore it is impossible they should flourish. Some of the inhabitants paid what money they could and afterwards finding they could not go any longer they ran away. Others of them considered that if they run away they would be brought back prisoners and therefore remain in their houses selling their cattle and everything else to pay the money. Besides the commands they give to the villages are such; Mr. Fletcher wanted some timbers for beams and obtained an order from the renter to a village called Pootour for that purpose, he sent people there who remained in the village twenty two days. They received twenty two Madras Pagodas allowance from the inhabitants, they required twenty bullocks to draw the timber. Now this is the time to plough and cultivate the ground and no time is to be lost; but when the bullocks are taken away this must cease; therefore the inhabitants have come and complained but the renter pacified them and sent them back. Besides which the demand of straw, sticks &c. made by Capt. Fletcher, the commandant and other sepoy officers and other people are beyond description. No revenues in this season, notwithstanding which the inhabitants purchase those things demanded from other countries and supply them. Therefore there is a dispute between the renter and European officers, on account of which they always make such demands. He demands four thousand nine hundred (4900) pagodas and the interest which is due to him from Idrat Talab Cawn, of which I have paid four thousand (4000) pagodas and nine hundred (900) pagodas are still which the renter promises to pay in one month; but the European gentleman requires it immediately and for which he gives a great deal of trouble. The renter says he will wait on him personally; but Capt. Fletcher refuses, therefore the business is transacted in writing between them.

(iii) EUROPEANS FORCE THEIR WAY INTO PRIVATE HOMES, PRESS PEOPLE, EVEN MILITARY MEN

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - N/15.
TRANSLATION OF AN ARZEE IN PERSIAN, BY CHOTTAR SING, VAQUEEL OF RAJAH BHANGAR YATCHAM NAID JAMEDAR OF VENKETEGARY, RECEIVED 2ND AUGUST 1772.

I have just received a letter from the Rajah Bhangar Yatcham Naid Bahadur my master. That the Europeans who came from Masulapatam to Naid Pettah on their way to Madras although there was a lodging for passengers and my master's people showed them the places, they did not chuse to halt there; but they went into my master's houses, breaking the locks and entering forcibly they took up their lodging there. They have received sheep, fowls, rice, &c. as much as they pleased for nothing, at their request as guests. When they departed from thence they gave treat trouble by pressing the coolies. At last they wrote a letter to my master in Gentoo language, the original and translation of which is here annexed. The Talka of Naid Pettah is assigned over to Rajahwar, Elaiwar and Cammewar casts, who are military men, and always have a most sacred regard for their honour. When they are brought to what they think such disgrace the country must be ruined, I therefore entreat your Highness will be pleased to take such measures, that they may not be liable to receive such injuries from the Europeans for the future.

3rd August, Chottar Sing present, declares about two months ago, a detachment passed from Masulapatam to Madras took everything, sheep, fowls, curries, pots, &c. &c. &c. without making the smallest allowance for anything. And they pressed coolies not minding who, even taking gentlemen if they came in their way for that purpose. They even went so far as to abuse them on their march. The inhabitants acquiesced in everything least the Nabob should be displeased; but the inhabitants had the Nabob's Dustuck for their protection, which they shewed to the soldiers without their paying any regard to it. These casts are the sepoys or soldiers of the Rajah, and as he is obliged to attend the Nabob with his force in war, these are his military; then leaving the cultivation of the ground to others but in time of peace they employ themselves this way.

accumulated sum the produce of such practices upon himself, and either to pay it or to give his bond for the whole, liable to ten percent interest per annum.

When the amuldahrs get in debt to the Company's servants they seldom live in the towns or forts; but retire into the countries to avoid the importunities of their creditors. The Dubashes then of the money lenders are sent to demand payment at the time it is due. These set out in a state little inferior to their masters, and on their arrival they are treated with all the elegance of the country. Their train of palanqueen boys, peons, &c. &c. &c. receive both wages and batta from the debtor, and even dancing girls and every species of expensive amusement are procured for them at the amuldahrs expence. And when they think it necessary to return, in consideration for a bribe which they accept they go back without the money, and make an excuse to their master on account of the poverty of the man &c. &c. &c. All these exhorbitant exactions puts it more and more out of the power of the debtor to discharge his debt; and at last the whole with all the increase of a heavy interest comes upon the Nabob to pay.

It was the custom of Collendah Moodally who was the Dubash of the paymaster of Trichanopoly from the first time, the Europeans had a garrison there to Mr. Hoyer's time, to oblige all the amuldahrs, renters and servants of the circar to take money from him at an exhorbitant interest. He not only did this to all those of the Trichanopoly district; but he came to Ally Navis Cawn then Manager in the Tinnevelly country and asked him if he did not want money, and desired him to accept some from him at such an interest. He told him he did not want money, that he had three thousand pagodas by him, which he would give him free of interest to lend to any one he pleased, and that he only would expect it when called upon for money from the circar, he also told him that he would be much obliged to him if he would not insist on his borrowing from him; by such means and fair words he got off.

This same Collendah was the man that went to the Rajah of Tanjore, and offered to raise the money agreed on for the ransom of his country last year, for which he received a present of fifty thousand rupees for himself; besides the premium and interest agreed on for his master, notwithstanding all which the Rajah was obliged to pawn plate and jewels to the full amount of the sum borrowed; one lack of pagodas of which remains as yet unpaid; and the interest continues to go on.*

Narren Piellah who was the Dubash to the Commanding Officers of Trichanopoly from the first English garrison to Col. Hood's time used to carry on the same trade.

(v) PRINCIPAL LOAN INCREASED BY 40% IN WANTING TO MAKE THE 8% INTEREST LOOK MODERATE

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/2.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, TUESDAY JULY 28TH 1772, PP.331.

The commanding officer at Ongole had wrote to Assem Cawn Bahadur acquainting him that the Nabob's renter had not paid him some interest due on a certain sum of money which he had lent him, and requesting an order from the Nabob for the payment. And this day Assem Cawn wrote to him acquainting him that the Company's order was only ten percent, yet he had obliged the inhabitants to give obligations at the rate of forty eight percent per annum. That they could not pay so much without ruining both themselves and the country; however on his laying all this before the Nabob, out of pure friendship for him, and to prevent bad consequences both to his people and country, the Nabob was willing for this once to pay this interest himself; but absolutely forbid lending any money to his people for the future.

I was also informed that this practice was universal all over the Carnatick; and the Company's commanding officers or paymasters, not only employed their own money this way; but all their friends, and even people in high stations sent their money to be employed in this way. But now to avoid it being known as much as possible, the principal sum was first mentioned then the agreement for the interest; and if it was 48 percent per annum, the 40 percent was added to the principal both which added made the sum specified in the bond; and the 8 percent interest appears only as charged for the whole. By which means a charge of interest was made upon 40 percent more than the principal, or 48 for 60 every year.

(vi) MADRAS BRITISH GOVERNOR MAKES MONEY EXTORTS BRIBES

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/3.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 332

In Mr. Palk's time there was one Poushpanadar Nincary a renter of Conjeevaram or Poonamalee, and who had formerly been a manager of the Nabob and was very much in debt to him on account of Wandiwash, &c. The Nabob sent him prisoner to Arcot, he complained to the Governor, who sent a very haughty message to the Nabob desiring to know why he dared to confine one of the Company's renters, and by the Governor's order without consulting the Nabob he was sent under a Guard from Arcot to Madras and delivered up to him. Nincary made interest, paid fifteen thousand pagodas to Mr. Palk and five or six thousand to his Dubash, and the same night he was suffered to escape. Next morning, Mr. Palk with all Nincary's creditors came to the Nabob. This man whom you just confined say they, and delivered over yesterday has made his escape; you must pay us all the money he owed us. It was in vain for the Nabob to urge the injustice of his demand; that they had taken the man out of his power, that he himself, and many of his servants were also losers; he was obliged to take the whole debt upon himself - both principal and the accumulated interest added, to near a lack of pagodas for which he was obliged to give interest bonds.

(vii) REFUSING TO PAY CUSTOM DUTY FOR MERCHANDISE IN THEIR NAME, ALSO DEMANDING FORCED LABOUR, TRANSPORT

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/4. EXEMPTION FROM CUSTOMS AND TOWN DUTIES. EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, TUESDAY JULY 28TH 1772, pp. 339-340

There are certain offices established all over the Carnatick for collecting the duties of the circar upon all merchandize, or on all such goods as are transported from one place to another; but the baggage of the Company's servants have been exempted from this, not by any particular specification but they have always been considered as not liable to pay duty. However under colour of this priviledge, not only goods for sale have been transported by some; but the Dubashes of the principal servants either in the civil or military department have assumed all the authority of their masters on the like occasions, obliging the circar officer to pass whatever they pleased without examination, by placing their masters name on the parcels. If the officer should stop them, they complain to their masters, and they are always sure to be justified against the circar people, who are fortunate if they escape without some mark of resentment. And this has been carried to such a height that even common hawkers and pedlars, besides more considerable merchants have made a practice of writing the names of Commanding Officers of certain places or of some of the Company's servants upon packages and under this sanction have passed through all the Nabob's Cutcherries. Should the circar officer stop them, they immediately apply to the Dubash, who tells his master of a brother or a near relation bringing up a few things, silks, linnen cloths or some other goods for the use of the officers of the garrison and that they had wrote his name upon it; but that it had been stopped by the circar people. This is sufficient, the officer in a passion that any thing with his name on it should be stopped by these fellows, sends sepoys for their protection to bring it on, or perhaps apply to the Nabob for redress, and demands no less than the punishment, or the dismission of the officer who had done his duty.

But still a greater evil than the defrauding the Nabob of his revenues attends all this; for it has been accompanied with circumstances of oppression infinitely more destructive to the country. For the amuldahrs and the Nabob's officers have been forced to press the country people from their labour, to furnish coolies, not only to carry the baggage or effects belonging to the Company's servants; but it has been the common practice of their Dubashes, and for merchants hawkers and pedlars under their protection to transport goods merchandize &c. from place to place with their masters name affixed, and accompanied with a peon or cooley with the Company's badge, obliging all the circar officers wherever they went not only to pass them duty free; but also to furnish coolies to transport them free of all expense, threatening them if they refused, and sometimes throwing down the goods, telling them they must be answerable for the consequences if they did not forward them. For such services the merchants can well afford to pay high rewards to those, through whose favour they receive such indulgences, as in the inland countries they receive from thirty six to fifty percent to upwards upon Madras goods according to the distance; but this arbitrary manner of forcing the country people from their labour by which they maintain their family has obliged many of them to leave their habitations, and to search for shelter and more security under the Government of those Indian princes who are much less connected with Europeans and who we call despotism and slavery.*

(viii) TWO LAKHS TO GOVERNOR FOR APPOINTMENT TO NORTHERN CIRCARS

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/5.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, FRIDAY 25TH SEPTEMBER 1772, pp. 345.

Cootoobut Doulah is one of Hussun Ally Cawn's honorary names. So that by his arzee of the 19th March 1766 to the Nabob it appears that he had agreed to give two lacks of rupees to the Governor for his appointment to the circars to be paid through the Nabob's hands. Which was done partly by that means and partly by the hands of Mr. Pybus then Chief at Masulipatnam. This with other proportional Nazirs given to the Company's principal servants at the time appears to account for the preference given to Hussun Ally; although they had sent General Cailland to the Nabob on purpose to bring him to Madras, to settle this affair and to accept the management of the circars. The Nabob was then going into the Madura and Tinnevelly countries to settle them; but left that business by which he suffered great loss, and came to Madras. He was however disappointed and Hussun Ally Cawn preferred.

(ix) THE MANNER OF MAKING BRITISH FORTUNES IN SOUTH INDIA

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/6.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 347-348

The Governor and Council are as well acquainted with the different times of the coming in of the rents of the Carnatick as the Nabob, and ought in friendship to suit their demands to the times when they know he can most easily answer them. This however has not been the case, for it has always been customary to press him most, when they could not be ignorant that he was least able to pay, which reduced him to the necessity either to be hard upon his country to raise money for them, to borrow from all hands at a high premium and great interest, or to shew favour to themselves in order to obtain a month or two's respite.

The money that they receive for the Company in the Carnatick and the Northern Circars comes nearly to between ninety and a hundred lacks of rupees a year, so that the Nabob can hardly suppose their necessities are so very pressing; but whenever he finds them particularly anxious for money for the Company, he knows they want him to shew favour. And after all, the difficulties he labours under his own country are not to be expressed; he cannot even buy a piece of cloth for his own wear; but he must employ one of his servants to buy it as if it were for themselves; should he do it, the Company's merchants would immediately complain to the Governor and Council and say that the Nabob had interfered with the weavers and spoiled their contracts.

Sometime ago there were merchants in the Nabob's country as well as in others. Those merchants used to buy up the grain of the inhabitants; and to furnish them with money for the circar for it is the custom in Indostan when the grain is cut down to divide it between the circar and the labourer in certain proportions according to the nature of the grain, the labour necessary in cultivating it, and the fertility of the country. In the Tanjore country for instance the labourer has only two tenths of the produce of his lands, which is perfect sufficient to repay him for all his labour. But the circar very often leaves what is its proportion with the inhabitants for which they pay money. This is bought by the merchants and in this manner the circar revenue used to be paid; but ever since the Company got such footing in the country the Commanding Officer and the paymaster oblige all the inhabitants to take money from them at two, three and four percent per mensem to pay the circar demands. The merchants have entirely left the country, as there is no advantage to be got by any but by the Commanding Officer and the paymaster' people. The inhabitants know not how to dispose of their grain to refund the money borrowed of the Company's people; and when they find themselves beyond remedy, they run off. Their creditors then seize on their effects, and not only of the effects of their immediate debtors, but on their neighbours so far as is necessary to discharge the whole. Then unless the Nabob pay the whole debt, together with the high interest and sustain all the loss of the sale of the grain, the village becomes deserted and the country would be very soon depopulated. In this manner have the fortunes of all the Commanding Officers and paymasters been made.

(x) THE AVARICIOUS BRITISH COMMANDANT AND THE POLYGAR

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/7.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, SUNDAY 26TH JULY 1772, pp. 351-353.

An account of the present Commandant at Ongole.

In 1768, the officer commanding the troops at Ongole having settled all that country, told Assem Cawn that they must do something with somebody else. And in the neighbourhood one of Bazalat Jungs Polygars commanded a very strong Fort called Venecondah. The Commandant said they must go and attack him; on Assem Cawn's representation that they had nothing to do with this Polygar and that as he belonged to Bazalut Jung, it might bring them into trouble. He still persisted telling him; why am I sent to command at their place but to get money, and I must not let such an opportunity slip. Accordingly without the least pretence or injury received he marched against him, Assem Cawn went with him. On coming before the place, the Commandant received letters from the Governor and Council (Hyder was then in the Carnatick) ordering him to send off an officer with 500 sepoys and as many Europeans to Madras immediately and to hold himself in readiness to march with the rest at a moment's warning. He communicated this to Assem Cawn, and told him we must reduce this fellow first, and you, says he, must bear witness for me that I did not receive this letter till afterwards, for we must not acknowledge the receipt of this now. He then summoned the Fort, which the Polygar refused to deliver. The Cawn then persuaded him to get some conversation with the Polygar and by his mediation they met in a tent between the army and the place. The Commandant, Assem Cawn and a third person with a few sepoys only, and the Polygar had above 2000 peons all round them. The Polygar then asked what he wanted with him and why he came before his Killa. The Commandant said, you have two guns belonging to one of our Polygars whom we have reduced, you must deliver them up. He answered, I have no guns of any of your Polygars; but I have twelve guns of my own, if you want two guns you may chuse which you please.

Then says he a great many of our Polygar people have deserted to you, you must deliver them up. The Polygar answered, I know of none of your people in my Killa; but if you please you may go into the Fort, and if you find any of them you may take them with you. The reason of those questions was, he did not want either guns or men; but a pretence to demand money of the Polygar to make up matters. Every such pretence however proving in vain and Assem Cawn fearing his coming to extremities, offered to be a mediator and told them he would endeavour to get some money for him from the Polygar, and with great difficulty prevailed on him to give three thousand pagodas. The Commandant wanted more; but the Polygar would not. Then says he, I will take him prisoner with these sepoys; without considering that he was surrounded with the Polygars peons; and even went so far as to threaten to beat him, he was however dissuaded. Very well says the Captain, but I want a horse, I must have a horse, you shall have one says he. And on the Polygars return to the fort, he sent him a dress, shawls and a horse; the horse did not please him. I don't want a horse says he to Assem Cawn, tell the Polygar to give me a thousand pagodas and keep his horse, the Polygar would not agree to that. I must have another horse then says the Commandant, a better one, he was promised one; but this horse not coming time enough, he rode to the Fort himself unattended, and was refused admittance by the peons guarding the barrier. He was in a great passion; and sent for Assem Cawn, who sent a message to the Polygar, requesting he would give him leave to come in. The Polygar was displeased, why says he should this officer come up demanding entrance into my Fort without my leave. The Cawn made the matter appear as favourable as possible telling him it was the European custom to visit after making friends, that he only came in friendship to see his place. They were admitted, and on mentioning the horse, the Polygar told him, I have twelve horses in my stables you shall have your choice. On hearing of twelve horses, Oh, I must have more, for some of my officers want horses, and he insisted on having four horses, he got them. The Polygar then appointed him a house to refresh in and sent him fruits &c. About this time, one of Bazalat Jung's Jamedahrs was passing on horseback, who had been there to collect the rents for his master. He was well mounted and the horse pleased the Commandant; he run up and stopped the horse, and swore he would have that horse. After much cavilling the Polygar was obliged to pay two thousand rupees to the Jamedahr and to give the horse. Assem Cawn then prevailed on the Commandant to return two of the former horses; so that he carried off three, shifting his own furniture on the Jamedahr's horse and rode off. But before went away, he pulled a watch out of his pocket, and presented it to the Polygar, telling him he was his best friend; that it had been sent him from Europe by his brother; but he insisted of this acceptance as a proof of friendship. The Polygar refused, saying he did not understand it. But the Commandant insisted on his taking as a token of remembrance. The Polygar told him, that was not necessary, for he should certainly remember him as long as he lived without any such proof; however he left the watch with the Polygar. The Commandant was scarce gone when he repented his giving the watch, saying as it was his brother's present, he ought not to have given it away ; and wanted to send for it. Assem Cawn told him; you gave it away as a proof of friendship, you cannot ask it back. However he sent his Dubash to the Fort, and halted his men till he brought the watch back, he also wanted to wait till he received the three thousand pagodas. But Assem Cawn agreed to pay that to him for the Polygar, that he might not be detained from more essential business; and accordingly did pay it to him.

(xi) NAZARS ETC. TO GOVERNORS AND OTHERS TO GET RENTER APPOINTMENTS

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/8. RENTER AND OFFICIALS AND THE NEED TO BORROW. EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, THURSDAY 13TH AUGUST 1772, pp. 355-356.

One Rajow Pundit had been renter of St. Thome ever since the siege of Madras, and of Devicottah soon after, till very lately. He rented the former at 700 pagodas per annum and the latter at 1900 pagodas both from the Company. Mr. Palk [the GOVERNOR of Madras] a little before his departure let both these farms to the same man for five years for which over and above the rent he usually paid the company, he was to pay a Nazir to the Governor of 2000 pagodas a year; but as Mr. Palk was going to England he required the whole to be paid at once. Accordingly the man was obliged to borrow 10,000 pagodas at a very high interest to answer this demand. There had been a Nazir annually paid for every year before also; and when Mr. Bourchier came to the Government, he also expected his present although Mr. Palk had made the renter pay for five succeeding years. And however far the Governor went, the Dubash always kept pace with his master. The consequence of this was that Rajow was able to stand it no longer and in the year 1770, he broke for 30,000 pagodas over and above his whole substance.

It seems some people who understood some of those transactions between him and the Governors, &c. &c. &c. advised him to write to Mr. Palk and to tell him his situation and what had been the cause of his misfortunes. Either the man or some other person did so; and last year an order came from Mr. Palk to Mr. Goodlad his attorney to pay him 5000 pagodas. Which I am told was done. But the man was ruined and this came much too late.

This has been the fate of all the Company's renters in the Jaghire for many years past, all had been ruined by the same means. The Company's rents are easily paid; but the Nazir to the Governors, Councellors, Secretaries and Dubashes must also be paid, which obliges the renter to borrow money at a very high interest of forty, fifty or sixty percent and the produce of the farm not being able to discharge all those demands, the possessor must be inevitably ruined. At the same time mentioned several practices of the Dubashes for extorting money. Should any of those renters refuse to pay them a Nazir, the Dubash takes care to send heavy demands upon him from time to time, which he knows him unable to comply with. These he represents to his master as trifles and tells him of the refusal of the renters to oblige him in so small a matter. This the master believes and without enquiry orders the fellow to be flogged. This should infallibly be put in execution, if he do not buy off the disgrace by a sum of money, which he seldom fails to do; on which the Dubash tells his master that he will do better next time and begs him off. This is a common practice from the Governor of a province to the lowest officer civil or military when in command, or when they have any separate authority. Some thousand mangoes, hundreds of fowls, a great numbers of sheep &c. are demanded greatly above the man's abilities, and when he represents his situation and that he has not so many to send. The Dubash tells his master. I asked says he only a few mangoes of such a one, as you were to have company and the fellow refused them. And should these practices fail of producing the intended effect the renter is made appear to be so bad a man that his farm is taken from him and he is left to starve; which obliges him to borrow money at a very high premium and interest in order to wear out his time a little longer, for he is certain of being ruined at last.*

(xii) PRESSING OF MEN, CATTLE, SUPPLIES IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY: C. 1770s

IOL: Home Misc 111 : Sir Robert Harland to Earl of Rockford (No. XII) Recd. 10th April 1773 - O/10.
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY, FRIDAY 31ST JULY 1772, pp. 363-365.

(p.363)
(From Tazud Dien Killedar of Ongole and Rayal Pundat, Omdaht al Omrah's Manager.)

After the taking of Ongole for the Nabob, one Mr. Bruce came there to command the troops in Garrison, both those of the Nabob and of the Company. In that country the seasons are divided into four months wet weather and four months dry. In the first period they cultivate the ground and keep all their cattle about them; but in dry weather as they have no provision either in grass, straw and even water for their cattle, they send them all out of the country towards the borders of the Krishna. However as the officers wanted butter and milk they obliged the inhabitants to bring cows and to keep and feed them at their own expense for that purpose, without allowing them any reward, although they were obliged to send for what they wanted to a great distance. Nay if their cattle died, through want as the country could not maintain them, the poor inhabitants sustained the loss to their own ruin.

Ongole is but a small place, therefore the custom of pressing the inhabitants is the more felt, as they are but few. However if the commanding officer, his dubash, or any of his servants, wanted to go any where on business, orders were sent to the amuldahr to provide coolies with doolies &c. as many as they wanted. And as the Company's servants frequently travel between Madras and Masulapatnam, Ongole being in the high road, word is sent forward of their coming, and the amuldahr is obliged to provide everything necessary for their reception. But what distresses the country more than any thing is the pressing of the inhabitants to serve as coolies, which is done on (p.364) the above occasions; and as Ongole itself is not capable to furnish as many as those gentlemen want they must be pressed out of all the country round; so that the cultivation is perfectly neglected and the season lost for want of hands. Besides the poor people are kept waiting till those gentlemen arrive, and sometimes for several days while they amuse themselves with their friends, and then to carry them on so far for so many days more, without either receiving pay or batta, and are left to starve unless the amuldarh or some officer of the circar have compassion on them.

One Capt. Fitzgerald then came to the Commandant of this place, with a battalion of sepoys; houses were then ordered for all the officers both Europeans and Black officers and even for their servants which were all built and all the materials furnished at the amuldahr's expence. And detachments of sepoys were sent to collect those, all the country round at twenty or thirty miles distance, pressing and forcing the inhabitants and cattle to bring it to the garrison, the amuldahr paying the money. And afterwards they were obliged to furnish the straw for the garrison, which being exceeding scarce in that country it sometimes cost thirty, forty or fifty pagodas at a time. They were also obliged to supply the garrison with firewood, in both which not less than fifty coolies were employed everyday. For all which no pay nor batta was paid to the poor people; men and cattle were employed, the season lost, the circar deprived of its revenue and the inhabitants ruined. The same custom of supplying butter, milk &c. was also regularly insisted on; and very often the poor women were abused by sergeants, European soldiers, Topazes, &c. without redress. If a complaint was made the person was heard or not, according as the application was accompanied.

(p.365) About the end of 1766 Mr. Davis succeeded to the command, during which time and the time of the previous commander, one Mr. Perring who was paymaster used to lend money to the inhabitants at sixty percent per annum, forty eight to himself and twelve to the Dubash and Conicopillays about him.

The battalion of sepoys used sometimes to have 200 cattle belonging to them at a time. They were let loose in the country, and for want of grass the paddy fields of the poor people were eaten up, without any remedy, for if they should complain, perhaps sepoys were sent to protect them; but before that the whole crop was destroyed.

VOL. IX

BRITISH NARRATIONS ON INDIA, ITS CONQUEST, DOMINANCE, AND DESTRUCTION 1600-1900 A.D.

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Note: The bold text (*) in this document is the emphasis added by the Editor-Compiler and is not part of the original document

1. A BRIEF 18TH CENTURY ACCOUNT OF THE UNIVERSITY AT NAVADVEEP (NUDDEAH)

From The Calcutta Monthly Register and, India Repository, January 1791, pp 136-139.

The Joguy or Fakier Abdehoad, has the glory of beings its founder, it is said upwards of four hundred years ago. The tradition is, that, the place being a perfect jungle, or uncultivated forest, Abdehoad retired into it, to lead a life of devotion and abstinence. His residing there, induced two or three other persons to build huts there. The place soon began to wear a flourishing aspect; when it appeared, that this holy man, was, in a most distinguished manner, an object of the divine favour. -- He was inspired with a perfect knowledge of the sciences, without any application or study, and his benevolence induced him to impart to his neighbours, the supreme happiness, which he derived from the gift. As he described the nature of it to them, they expressed so great a desire to partake of it, that he offered to instruct them in it. The success attending this generous undertaking, was so remarkable, that it is believed to have been preternatural. By the time he had read one leaf to them, they comprehended what would have filled ten. They soon read, and transcribed all that he had committed to writing, and with the utmost facility, composed new works of their own: about this time, the place began to engage attention. Fortunately the Rajah or principal person of the district, was a man of liberal mind, and a friend to religion and learning. His name was Roghow Ray, a bramin of the sect Gour. This illustrious person, visited the Fakiers school, and became one of his disciples. He afterwards patronized the seminary, and made it a regular and permanent institution. He in a princely manner endowed it with lands, for entertaining masters and students, building houses at the same

time for their accommodation. He also bestowed prizes upon certain degrees of proficiency in literature, --for example, he that could explain the Nea [Nyaya] Shaster, received from the Rajah, a cup filled with gold mohurs, and he that explained any other of the Shasters, received a cup filled with rupees. --In short, the Rajah's liberality, and the Fakier's supernatural knowledge, soon rendered Nuddeah, the most frequented as well as the most learned university in the east. It has been, and is this day, peculiarly celebrated, as a school of philosophy. The learned Serowmun, one of the first professors of philosophy at Nuddeah, wrote a system of philosophy, which has continued to be the text book of the school ever since. Fifty two Pundits of considerable note, in the republic of letters, have written each a commentary, on Serowmun's treatise of philosophy. The pundit Shankar, one of the present professors, is a descendent from Serowmun, and supports the literary reputation of his own family and of Nuddeah, in a very distinguished manner. Other sciences have also been cultivated at Nuddeah, with peculiar success, particularly astronomy and astrology ; although there is no man there at present, very eminent in this department. The names of Nuddeah Rajah's since the foundation of the university, are as follow:

Ragou Ray, Rooddre, Ram Jeemur, Rugguram, Kissun Chund, and Sieuchund.

The present Rajah's son is about twenty-five years of age, and named *Isurchand*. --All these have been remarkably long lived, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the nature of their pursuits, by which they were never exposed to violence or danger. Rooddre, in particular, lived to be upwards of one hundred years of age: and as he inherited his fathers taste and libality, his long reign was the means of establishing, and perpetuating, the fame of Nuddeah. This family's place of residence or palace, is at Sieunibass, and the courts of judicature, are held at Kistnagur. The grandeur of the foundation of the Nuddeah university is generally acknowledged. It consists of three colleges--Nuddeah, Santipore and Gopulparrah. Each is endowed with lands for maintaining masters in every science. When ever the revenue of these lands, prove too scanty for the support of pandits and there scholars, the Rajah's treasury supplies the deficiency: for the respective masters have not only stated salaries from the Rajah, for their own support; but also an additional allowance for every pupil they entertain. And their resources are so ample, there are at present about eleven hundred students, and one hundred and fifty masters. Their numbers, it is true fall very short of those in former days. In Rajah Rooddre's time, there were at Nuddeah, no less than four thousands students, and masters in proportion. Still however, it must be acknowledged that the seminary is respectable, and must be supported by no inconsiderable talents and learning. Shankar pundit, is head of the college of Nuddeah, and allowed to be the first philosopher and scholar in the whole university. His name inspires the youth with the love of virtue-- the pandits with the love of learning-and the greatest Rajahs, with its own veneration. The students that come from distant parts, are generally of a maturity in years, and proficiency in learning, to qualify them for beginning the study of philosophy, immediately on their admission; but yet they say, that to become a real pundit, a man ought to spend twenty years at Nuddeah, in close application. Thus in the east, as well as the west, the fruit of the tree of knowledge, costs the high price of viginti anncrum lucubrationes.

Any man that choses to devote himself to literature, will find a maintainance at Nuddeah, from the fixed revenues of the university, and the donation of the Rajah. Men in affluent circumstances, however, live there at their own expence, without burthening the foundation. By the pundits system of education, all valuable works, are committed to memory; and to facilitate this, most of their compositions,--even their dictionaries, are in metre. But they by no means, trust their learning entirely, to this repository: on the contrary, those who write treatises, or commentaries on learned topics, have at Nuddeah, always met with distinguished encouragements and rewards. The time of attending the public schools and lectures, is from 10 o'clock in the morning until noon. Their method of teaching is this;--two of the masters commence a dialogue, or disputation on the paricular topic they mean to explain. When a student hears any thing advanced, or expressed that he does not perfectly understand, he has the privilege of interrogating the master about it. They give the young men every encouragement, to communicate their doubts, by their temper and patience in solving them.

It is a professed and established maxim of Nuddeah, that a pundit who lost his temper, in explaining any point to a student, let him be ever so dull and void of memory, absolutely forfeits his reputation, and is disgraced.

The Nuddeah Rajah's have made it their frequent practice, to attend the disputations. On all public occasions especially, the Rajah assists, and rewards those, who distinguish themselves. But, instead of cup full of gold and silver, as formerly; all that this prince can now afford to bestw is loatta, dhoatty, i.e. a brass cup and a pair of drawers. These however, from the Rajah's own hand, are, by no means, considered trivial rewards.--No Emperors Chelat communicates a higher pleasure, nor inspire a nobler pride.-- Nothing can be more characteristic of philosophic simplicity and moderation, than the value which they set up it: "Is it not" say they, "the Dress and Furniture which Nature requires?"

2. BRITISH HISTORIAN ROBERT ORME'S GENERAL IDEAS OF INDOSTAN

IOL: Sept. 1752 - Sept. 1753, p. 1-49,(pp 1-18, sept 1752, Calcutta) Extracts

(p.7) The mechanick or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft; that will be taken from him. If conspicious for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour required when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is destroyed; and all the luxury of an Asiatic empire has not been able to counteract by his propensity to magnificence and splendour, the despiriting effects of the fear which ranged throughout and without which a despotick power would reign no more.

If any improvement has been made in the few years of a milder administration, they are utterly lost again, when the common methods of government succeeds.

Hence rudeness and inelegance are seen in all the works of wealth and magnificence, and Milton has justly said:

> The gorgeous East with richest hand
> forms (?) on her sons Barbaric Pearl and Gold

In happier climes, the arts and sciences have been counted to heighten the blessings of life or to assist the labours and wants of it. (p.8)

But such a spirit cannot exist where mankind are treated on principles directly contrary to all ideas of their happiness.

Were the ideas of virtue, morality and humanity discussed by such Genii, as have enlightened happier nations; notions would soon be established which would teach men what was due to them, notions which would over set every principle and every practice of the constitution .... who therefore shall dare to make such researches his study or discourse.

We cannot therfore admire, that the arts, and science of all kinds, have been able to make no greater progress in the empire of Indostan.

(p.8-9) Where the human race is struggling through mighty ills as under its condition scarcely superior to that of the groups of field; shall we not expect to find throughout Indostan, dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages thereby interspersed, desolated towns and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied.

On the contrary, we find the people equally if not exceeding in numbers the most populous of states, such as enjoy the best of government and the best of laws.

Effects of the climate of Indostan seem to counteract in favour of human race, the violences to which it is subject from the nature of the government. (p.9)

1. The sun forbids the use of fuel and renders the want of raiment to be scarcely an inconvenience.2. The bare earth with the slightest hut over it affords a repose without the danger of diseases to a people vastly temperate.3. Productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours: a convenient house may be built in three days with no other materials than what are furnished by the bamboo, and Kajan: a boat with all its appurtenances may be made from a single coconut tree which at the same time supplies oil and nourishment in much request. The care of producting and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen.4. Health is best preserved in this climate by the slightest and simplest diet: perhaps it is from this consideration that religion has forbid the use of flesh meat and spiritous liquors amongst the Gentoos.*

This the general wants of the other climates become extremely lessened in this. Now if men multiply in proportion to the ease of gaining a subsistence, it will no longer be admired that the kingdom of Indostan should even under the iron sway of despotism, continue populous, especially if we add this better fundamental cause which is resulting like the other from the effects of the climate is still rendered more effectual by the most sacred of customs.

In Indostan the fecundity of the women is extreme and the propensity of the men to propagate their species is equal to it. Every Gentoo by his religion is obliged to marry and is permitted to have more wives than one. It has been proved that the number of females exceed that of the males. So that a plurality of wives produces not the effect in India, which it is imagined to do in other countries, that of decreasing the number of the people.

(p.10) **A weaver among the Gentoos is no despiciable caste. He is next to the scribe and above all the mechanicks. He would lose his caste were he to undertake a drudgery which he did not immediately relate to his work.***

(p.11) After what has been said of the discouragements to which the mechanick of every denomination is subject it may be asked, in what manner the amazing perfection to which the linen manufacture has been brought in Indostan can be accounted for. The distinctions of dress in Indostan consists of entirely in the fineness of the linen of which the habit is made; the habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago; ornaments of gold and silver are marks of foppery, which are indulged only to the children; jewels are not worn about the person, excepting on particular occasions, even by the grandies; the richest man in the empire effects no other advantage in his dress but that of linen extremely fine. The particularity of this taste must have been a great encouragement to the linen manufacturers.

Let it be again observed, that, at present, (whatever it may have been formerly) much the greater part of whole provinces are employed in the single manufacture; and this will be allowed another good reason for the improvements which have been made.

p.14 The multitude of valuable productions, the cunning and industrious temper of the people, the avarice of the rulers of Indostan have all equally concurred to establish the extensive commerce of this country. The government has found by repeated experience in the consequences of oppression that they best consult the interest of their revenues in consulting the security of their merchants. The customs and imports throughout Indostan are fixed and unalterable. The merchant may at any time make an exact calculation of the deductions to which his trade is subject.

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* Emphasis added by Editor-Compiler

3. ASPECTS OF DEALINGS IN BENGAL AS TOLD BY JOHN JOHNSTONE: c. 1757 - 1766 (EXTRACT)

Source : IOL: T 795 (1),1766.

(p.2) In the course of this long service I have been employed in various departments. After the sack of Calcutta, I engaged with a few others as a volunteer under Major Kilpattrick, who collected a small force before the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Clive, and endeavoured to support and retrieve the company's affairs. I afterwards accepted a commission under that officer in the artillery, and joined with him the reinforcement which came from Madras, under Admiral Watson and Lieutenant-colonel Clive. I served the whole of the campaign till the company's affairs were re-established by the battle of Plassy, and **was present when the treasures of the Nabob were distributed with a liberal hand**.* I received no share of that bounty, except my small proportion as an officer, and what was allowed for the restitution of losses, which was paid very slowly, and not completely paid for near three years after.

I was sent after that victory with the command of the artillery upon a detachment which went beyond Patna in pursuit of Mr. Law, who had advanced to join himself to Sujah Doula with a body of French. Major Coote, who was particularly chosen for this enterprize, obliged Mr. Law to retire to Sujah Doula's dominions, from whence he continued to alarm the new Nabob and the company for four years. This party returning from the pursuit of Mr. Law, I arrived at Calcutta in September 1757.

An expedition having been projected to the Dekan under Colonel Ford, with a view to cause a (p.3) diversion of the French force then preparing to besiege Madras, I was sent before with the commission of Chief of the Company's settlements in that province, to encourage and support the Rajah of Vizinagram in his revolt against the French, and to prepare every thing for landing the troops, and supplying and equipping the army with provisions, carriages, and every thing necessary, before it could begin its march against the enemy. Here I was upon the point of being left to fall into the enemy's hands; for the Council at Bengal, after I was set out, began to think of countermanding that expedition. Lieutenant Colonel Clive, then Governor, interposed, and the troops were ordered to embark for that enterprize, which, though extremely ill supplied with money, or furnished with stores, ended in our taking Mazulipatam, and prevented the French from maintaining the siege of Madras, and at the same time destroyed entirely an army of 1200 French and 7000 seapoys, who were killed, dispersed, or taken prisoners.

During this expedition, which lasted for two campaigns, I was present, and wounded at the decisive battle fought with the French at Piddapoor, and was sent alone to negotiate with Sullabutjung [the Nizam] at a most critical time, when the fate of the enterprize depended on our endeavours to disunite that prince from the French party, and to keep him from coming down in conjunction with them upon our army, then employed in the siege of Mazulipatam, from which place his army, amounting to thirty thousand men, joined to that of the French, lay distant only two days march. In this negotiation I succeeded, and settled a treaty with that Subah, which yielded to the company the provinces of Mazulipatam and Nezampatam, and their dependencies, worth 55,000 l., yearly, (p.4) and ended in the expulsion of the French out of that Prince's dominions, and from every part on the north side of the river Kistna, from whence they had received large supplies, and a revenue of forty-two lacks of rupees yearly, above five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

I returned afterwards to serve the company in the civil branch, and was stationed in council at their factory of Dacca.

At the time of the revolution which happened in 1760, when Meer Jaffer was deposed, and Cassim Ali Cawn placed on the Musnud in his stead, I was at that factory, and was not accessary to that measure,

which was afterwards so much disapproved, although the Company obtained by that means a grant of territories, which have yielded them a revenue of near 600,000 l. per annum; I mean the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittigong.

After Cossim Ali Cawn was established in the government, I was recalled from Dacca on purpose to be sent as Chief to take possession of Midnapoor, a frontier country, which was at this time over-run with the Morratoes, and most of the Zimmindars were also in arms, and refused to pay the revenues. The force allowed for this service was two hundred raw seapoys, two sergeants, and one officer, with whom I was shut up in a ruinous house without any fortifications whatever, without almost any provisions or ammunition, and surrounded with an army of Morratoes, amounting to four or five thousand horse and foot. We here sustained the repeated efforts of this army for sixteen days, reduced to four ounces of dry rice a day, and at last obliged them to retire. Being reinforced with one hundred seapoys, forty-five Europeans, and one gun, we expelled them the province, and soon after drove them from all their (p.5) own districts to the north of the Piply river, the revenues of which were collected for the Company, till restored to the Morattoes by a treaty of peace concluded in September 1761. The Zimmindars were also reduced, and the revenues in a great part recovered from them. The collections, in place of being begun in September 1760, could not be undertaken on account of the enemy till March 1761, before which time the Zimmindars had received and spent great part of the rents, and we were also obliged to attend to them in a moving camp till the month of August 1761; notwithstanding which the balance of revenue, which remained uncollected that year, was very inconsiderable, and was all recovered the year after. Such an estimate of the rents of that province [Midnapur] was made during my residence as Chief there, as I believe has not since been altered or increased.

I take the liberty to annex the letter which was wrote to me by the Board on that occasion, and the paragraph which they were pleased to insert respecting me in their general letter to the court of Directors. It gave me great pleasure that my conduct was approved of by them; and I hope it will not seem improper to lay these and other testimonies before you at this time, when my conduct I am told has been publicly represented as deserving censure.

I was afterwards appointed by the Board, assisted only with a writer, to take the direction of their affairs at Burdwan. This province was in fact the chief source of the revenue [£450,000 p.a.] which arose to the Company by the treaty with Cossim Ali Cawn; for the province of Midnapoor yields only about six lacks, or 75000 l. sterling, and Chittigong about the same sum.

(p.6) In the collection of the revenues of this province, which is of great extent, and contains near 8000 villages and near two millions of inhabitants, I exerted myself in a manner which the Company I trust had reason to approve. The Board at Calcutta repeatedly honoured me with assurances of their approbation: and in their letters to the Court of Directors made mention of my conduct during the whole of the period I resided there in terms which I hope will not now be forgot. The revenues had been collected for one year before I was sent by an able servant of the Company. I continued in the management for almost two years alone, and then two of the Company's servants were in January 1764 sent as a council to assist me in the management of affairs of such vast extent and importance. **During these two years my collections**

exceeded by a large sum what had been collected at any time before, either by the country powers or by the gentleman who preceded me in that department. And I believe the revenues fell short the year after my management ceased*; which, by an opinion I gave in to the Council in writing, I early foretold would be the case, from a change in the manner of conducting the collections. The second year of my collection the war broke out with Cossim Ali Cawn. When the army under Major Adams marched, there was not a rupee in the company's treasury, to pay what was due to the troops. The whole dependence for supplies of money rested upon the collections from the province of Burdwan; from which however nothing could be raised, without keeping that district undisturbed and protected from the attempts of the enemy, whose first views were directed to attack it. After reinforcing Major Adams with all the officers (p.7) and 570 picked men of the seapoys stationed at Burdwan, there remained only a sergeant and 300 sick, lame, and ill-disciplined seapoys under my direction. Considering the importance of the service, the great extent of country to guard, the readiness of the inhabitants to refuse payment on all occasions of public commotions, the neighbourhood of the Nabob's army under Mahomed Tucky Cawn, and the number of the Rajah's dismissed troops, then actually in the town of Burdwan, amounting to near 3000, ripe for mischief, as the arrears of their pay could not be discharged, considering these circumstances, this force in so critical a situation must appear to have been very unequal to the purposes expected. The Rajah's dismissed troops had refused to join the Nabob's standard, or to quit the town of Burdwan; and their ill intentions appeared in so many instances, that Major Carnac thought it unsafe to march his detachment of 100 Europeans, 4 guns, and 700 seapoys, through that town, where the Rajah's dismissed troops then were, till he had ordered his men to load and fix their bayonets, expecting to have been attacked. And even the small detachment that was left me was diminished afterwards, by furnishing escorts and parties, so as often not to leave 100 men for the protection of the settlement.

It would have been easy to have extricated myself from this situation, by applying the money of the collections to clear off the demands of these mutinous people, for which too I had the sanction of the Board. But while the treasure was so much wanted for the support of the Company's forces, I hazarded the worst that could happen to myself, rather than risque, by the want of money, the important operations of the principal army.

(p.8) The supplies which the army and the several detachments received by my means to enable them to move, both in regard to money, draught, and carriage, bullocks, provisions, and escorts, is well known. Every officer employed in that service will bear me testimony. It is well known that when the people of the town of Burdwan, and all around it, removed their effects, at the time Camgar Cawn's army entered the province, in the month of August that year, and was within one day's march of the capital; yet neither then, nor during the whole time I acted as chief there, was the public business or collections one day suspended, or the officers of the cutchery allowed to quit their duty. And even when by fatigue and attention my health was hurt, I attended to the public business, though unable to rise from my bed. The effect was, that under all the disadvantages of war and a bad season, the gross collections that year fell short of what I had collected the year before no more than a lack and a half. And it still greatly exceeded what had been collected before me, or has been since. Major Adams, and the separate commands under Major Carnac and Captain Maclean, were fully and timely supplied, as well as Calcutta and the company's factories.

During the time I presided at Burdwan, I undertook to make an exact discovery, for the Company's benefit, of the quantity of land in that province which had been cut off from the revenue, under the name of Bazee Zemeen, and was possessed by priests, superintendants of the revenue, and favourites, under the title of Charity-lands. This work, from its very nature, drew upon me the resentment and ill will of every man who was likely to be affected by it, amounting to many thousands. (p.9) Notwithstanding the great opposition, and the infinite labour attending this enquiry, it was at last completed, and a clear state of these lands laid before the board; by which it appeared, that not less than 568,736 Bigas (equal to 412, 491 acres) whose yearly value is computed at 862,524 Seeca rupees, or 116,727 l. appeared to have been separated from the revenue of the province. It was an object of great consequence to examine into the validity of the grants of so large a territory, amounting to near a fifth part of the whole lands of the country, in order to bring the farms to their former value, by re-annexing to each farm the lands which had been illegally given away by the farmers, without regular sunnuds from the cutchery, or the rent of the alienated part deducted in the public books. If this enquiry shall be prosecuted in the manner it was proposed, I will venture to say, that lands to a very considerable value may be re-annexed, and the farms enabled to pay their full rents. This enquiry employed from sixty to seventy writers every day for near eight months.

Whilst I was employed in the management of this extensive province, an order came out to India from the Court of Directors, in July 1764, by which myself and many other gentlemen were dismissed from the

Company's service, on account of our having differed in opinion from the then president, with respect to the conduct to be pursued in regard to the growing power, and dangerous designs and preparations of Cossim Ali Cawn. This dismission was attended with very great loss to my private affairs, as my property was dispersed in different parts of the country.

An order afterwards arrived, by which I was restored to my place in the service, and was again (p.10) sent to preside at Burdwan; to which place I returned the end of December, 1764. I will not enter into any discussion of what passed in England when Lord Clive, in the beginning of the year 1764, was appointed to go out to India, and amongst others I was again reinstated. A misunderstanding arose between Lord Clive and my friends, into the merits of which I do not mean to enter; only it is necessary to take notice, for explaining what follows, that my friends have said that Lord Clive owed his success in the contest with Mr. Sullivan, in some measure at least, to the aid which they gave him; and that after that success was secured to him, he did not enter with the zeal they expected into the justice due to me and the other gentlemen who had been dismissed; although Mr. Sullivan's conduct in these dismissions was one of the points which formed the opposition against him. No man who knows the facts will, I believe, affirm, that if my friends had not engaged in that opposition, the management of the affairs of the India Company would now have been in the hands of the present set of Directors, or that Lord Clive would at present have been in possession of his princely Jaghire, or his present power in India and in the Company at home. And the claim my friends had to have immediate justice done to me, after the success of the contest, was strengthened in the strongest manner by this, that almost as soon as the opposition began, they had an offer for immediately restoring me to my place in the service.

On the other hand Lord Clive, I am told, affirmed, that he was always hearty and zealous to get the injuries done me redressed; that my friends were too hasty, and did him wrong in supposing that he meant to act ungratefully, or contrary to the principles (p.11) on which the opposition to Mr. Sullivan was originally founded: and, although he positively refused, when urged by my friends, to make my reinstatement one of the many and minute conditions of his agreeing to go out to India, yet that he always intended to use his utmost influence with the Directors to bring that measure about. The matter was however delayed from time to time. My friends, after repeated promises and repeated disappointments, became at last convinced that it proceeded from design, and that his Lordship, apprehensive perhaps of future controul, had become jealous of the influence they were thought to have had in the contest, and in that situation had come to think, that the obligations he owed to them were too great to be repaid, any otherwise than by cancelling them.

There was no longer room for hesitation, and a breach with Lord Clive was the consequence. I was at last reinstated upon a motion made by one of Mr. Sullivan's friends: and Lord Clive, I am told, declared to different gentlemen, that he would prove to all the world, by his conduct towards me in India, the great injustice my friends had done him by their suspicions of his sincerity. But these declarations were made before the ballot for his Jaghire. Every one of my friends voted afterwards on the ballot in favour of his Lordship for that magnificent present, from an opinion that his right was good. They did not allow resentment to interfere in what they thought was a matter of right. At this time the able pamphlet, in answer to Lord Clive's letter, from the lateness of its publication, had not been read, neither was it then known that there was a nullity in the grant, as the translation of that part of (p.12) the original paper which shewed the nullity was omitted to be laid before the proprietors at the same time with the rest.

The contest with respect to Lord Clive's Jaghire gave occasion to a proposition in one of the general courts, That the Company's servants in India, both civil and military, should enter into covenants not to accept of any presents from the Indian princes or powers, as had been formerly the avowed and unrestrained practice; but should account to the Company for whatever they received. This proposition was at first supposed to be meant as a restriction upon Lord Clive himself, and those who were to attend him to India; though the very respectable gentleman who made the motion had no such view, but meant a general restriction. However, when the covenants came to be prepared, it appeared that they could prove of no prejudice to his Lordship, or to his friends, while supported by the Direction at home: for the covenants, as prepared by the Directors, amongst whom his Lordship had then a majority, only restrained from such presents as should not be approved by the Court of Directors.

The covenants were at last sent out to India, and arrived there, as I am informed, in the month of January 1765. At this time I was not a constituent member of the Council at Calcutta: but remained at Burdwan, in the management of the Company's affairs there.

In the month of February following, the Nabob Meer Jaffier died, after a few days indisposition. The Council judged it necessary to consider immediately of the steps proper to be taken upon such an event; and were pleased to summon me down from Burdwan to Calcutta, to assist in these deliberations. (p.13) I accordingly set out, and arrived at Calcutta on the 10th of February 1765.

The first matter which came under the consideration of the Board was, with respect to the proper person to be supported in the succession to the government. - There appeared to be only two competitors, viz. Najiem il Doula, Meer Jaffeir's eldest surviving son, then about eighteen years old, and a grandson by Miran his eldest son, deceased, a child of seven.

In favour of the one stood the right of succession, according to the rules established in European countries, but his infancy was a strong objection against him. In favour of the other, stood the custom among the Mussulmen, which permits the father to leave the succession to his own son, in preference to his grandson in the elder branch; accordingly, in this case, Najiem il Doula had the Nabob's nomination upon his death-bed, and he had also been pointed out by him as his successor several months before, and invested with the title of Chuta Nabob, which is only given to the intended successor to the nabobship. The council therefore determined to support him in the succession intended him by his father.

The next consideration was in what terms the treaty, which had been made with the former Nabob, should be renewed with his successor. Great inconveniences had arisen from the administration of Nuncommar, who was the duan, royroyan, and sole or prime minister of the deceased Nabob, and had the entire ascendancy and management of this young prince, as he lately had of his father. It was therefore resolved, that a different person should be appointed to instruct the youth, and assist the inexperience of the new Nabob.

(p.14) The climate, and manners, and government of this country, are not indeed favourable to the production of men of unshaken principles; but as it was necessary to make a choice, the general voice of the council fell upon Mahomed Reza Cawn, as the least exceptionable person, to have the direction of affairs under the Nabob. He had been known to some members of the council at Dacca, though not to myself, had behaved in a proper manner to the English when he acted as Nabob of that district under Jafer Ali Khan, who had given him that office in consequence of his having joined his party, after our army had got possession of Muxadavad in July 1763, upon our first successes against Cossim Ali Cawn; and he was thought to have capacity equal to the office to which he was destined.

The former Nabob had stipulated by his last treaty to keep up, if I rightly recollect, 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot, but he did not fulfil this engagement, and the Company were, on that account, obliged to increase their military establishment. The Nabob's forces were indeed a useless burthen to him; they had never answered any purpose upon real service; and in September 1764, he had disbanded most of them; it was therefore judged proper by the council, that the new Nabob, in place of engaging to keep up a body of forces himself, should establish a proper allowance to the Company to enable them to keep up a sufficient force for their own defence and his; and the council resolved, that by the treaty, five lacks of Sicca rupees monthly, out of the Nabob's treasury, should be stipulated for this purpose, amounting to about 812,000 l. yearly, and that the Nabob, in consideration of this allowance, should be freed from the expence of retaining any, but such as he thought proper for parade, and to assist the (p.15) collectors of his revenues in the several districts of his dominions.*

Great abuses, and immense arrears of the revenue, had been found to arise from the improper choice which had been made by Nuncomar, of the principal officers employed in superintending and collecting the revenues; for during the two years of his administration, twenty millions of rupees, or £2,706,666 sterling, were uncollected or unaccounted for; and as the proper management of this branch now interested the Company as well as the Nabob, and indeed concerned the whole kingdom, for this reason **it was resolved by the council, that it should be stipulated, by an article of the treaty, that the principal superintendants should be appointed by the Nabob, but with the advice and consent of the governor and council, leaving the inferior collectors to be appointed by the Nabob, as heretofore; but reserving to the council the privilege of representing against any of those named, if guilty of misconduct, and that the Nabob should pay proper regard to such representation:**

That the Nabob should retain no Europeans in his service, and should dismiss those that were:

That he should confirm the grants of the three provinces of Burdwan, Chittegong, and Mednapoor:

That he should pay to the merchants what still remained due for the restitution of their losses:

That he should concur in measures for regulating the mint, so as to prevent the yearly loss of every man's property, by the value of the rupees falling one, two, or three per cent on the issuing out the new Sicca rupees of the year:

That he should confirm the right of the company to a free trade in all articles and in all places, by virtue of the company's dustuck or permit; and to (p.16) settle regulations to prevent disputes between our gomastahs and agents, and the people of the country government in the inland trade:

And finally, It was recommended to the deputies, to take this opportunity of obtaining a promise from the Nabob to make over to the Company the reversion of Lord Clive's Jaghire.

Such were the terms of the new treaty, which the council at Calcutta judged it proper to make with the successor of Meer Jaffier; a treaty - more advantageous for the Company than any which had ever before been made, and at the same time preserving that moderation, which had been so frequently and strongly inculcated by the Directors, in their instructions sent out to Bengal, and in a particular manner in their last letter, then received, dated the first of June 1764, a copy of which is annexed. By this treaty the Nabob was evidently deprived of the army, of the nomination of his minister, and of the principal officers of the kingdom.

There remained with him, after the several allowances to be stipulated in favour of the company, a revenue estimated at about 20,000,000 rupees, or about two and a half millions sterling, which by this treaty it was in the power of the Company at any time afterwards to deprive him of, or to share it with him in what proportions they thought proper, if at any future period this should be thought *a wise, a just,* or *an expedient* measure: for the present treaty evidently put this power into the Company's hands, without at the same time carrying matters to violent extremes. This is all that Lord Clive has lately done, and it could have been effected by any person, at any time, upon a simple order from the court of Directors.*

(p.17) After settling the terms of the treaty, the council resolved to make choice of a deputation to wait upon the Nabob at Muxadavad, and to obtain his consent to the several articles; the choice fell upon me for one, and upon Mr. Leycester for the other deputy; to us were joined Mr. Senior, the company's chief at Casimbuzar, and Mr. Middleton, resident at the Nabob's court, with equal powers to carry these

instructions into execution, but to refer every other point and regulation to be determined by the council at Calcutta. As eldest member, I became of course the head of this deputation

The deputies arrived at Muxadavad on the 25th of February 1765. They obtained with some difficulty the Nabob's consent to the treaty, but met with the greatest obstruction in carrying into execution that part of it which related to the removing Nuncommar, the minister of his father, and the placing Mahamud Reza Cawn in his stead, and also in settling the plan for collecting the revenues, and dividing that department, then intirely under Nuncommar's management, among proper persons, with more limited powers. The Nabob, during the course of these negotiations, expressed the greatest uneasiness, and sent repeated complaints to the board against the deputies for carrying into execution these terms which were so much for the Company's advantage; however, in every instance the board approved of the conduct of the deputies, when explained by their answers. Copies of the correspondence which passed upon that occasion between the Nabob, the deputies, and the board, are in my possession; and from these it will appear that no one point which had been resolved on by the board, before the deputation set out, was given up by the deputies; and that the steady adherence to their duty gave great discontent to the (p.18) Nabob. I must here observe, that while the council at Calcutta had the new treaty under their deliberation, and before the deputation was appointed, offers were made by Juggat Chund, the Nabob's envoy, and son-in-law to Nuncommar, to Mr. Spencer, the governor, of large sums, which Mr. Spencer rejected and mentioned publickly. Messages were also sent by Juggat Chund to other members of the council, particularly to Mr. Leycester, and by Nubkison Munshy to myself, desiring a private interview, which

was refused, and publickly mentioned. Mr. Middleton, who was at this time resident at the Nabob's court, had also an offer of a large sum before the deputation was sent. During the course of the deputation, the board gave orders to the deputies to send Nuncommar down to Calcutta, to stand his trial upon an accusation against him. Upon this, an offer was made to Mr. Spencer, upon the part of Nuncommar, of eleven lacks, about 140,000 l. sterling, which he also rejected and made known[1]. About the same time a message was sent from the Nabob to Mr. Leycester, then acting as one of the deputies, acquainting him, that if he would be friendly to the Nabob, he should be satisfied for his friendship. (p.19) The same message was sent to Mr. Senior, and the Nabob himself spoke to Mr. Middleton in a stile which had the same tendency. These gentlemen rejected the offers, and publickly mentioned them to the other deputies. The manner in which I had treated the message sent to me at Calcutta, by refusing even to see the messenger, prevented, as to me, any new attempt.

About the 8th of March, after the treaty had been concluded and exchanged with the Nabob, and he acknowledged and seated as Subah on the musnud, and after the person recommended by the board for his Naib, had been dignified and confirmed by him in that office, while Nuncommar still continued to possess the Nabob's entire confidence, and was in every respect adverse to the deputies, a message was

brought to the deputies by **Mahamud Reza Cawn, to inform them of the Nabob's intention to make them presents, agreeable to the usual practice on the like occasions, when any important business is transacted, and to desire their acceptance of them, as a mark of his goodwill and satisfaction. Mahumud Reza Cawn produced a note in Persian, under the Nabob's hand and seal, signifying the amount of the sums intended for each of the deputies; for myself 137,500 rupees, which at 2s.6d. per rupee, amounts to 17,187 l. 10s. for each of the other deputies 112,500 rupees, or 14,062 l. 10s. He was directed to return our acknowledgements to the Nabob, to carry back the paper, and to acquaint him, that if such a favour was intended us, we could agree to receive if only from his own hands.**

[1] When Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta, Nuncommar was in confinement, and the witnesses to prove his treachery, who had been brought from a great distance, being ready, it was expected the trial would go on; but his lordship became convinced that it was proper to relieve him from this situation. His confinement, which was without guards, was taken off, and all the witnesses sent back, and he and his son-in-law soon found favour, and the latter was permitted to visit the gentlemen of the select committee. Nuncommar was supposed to be worth upwards of 300,000 l. sterling, mostly acquired during the two years he had the management of the whole revenues.

About the 16th of March, when we happened to be at the place of audience on publick business, the Nabob produced this note, and desired our (p.20) acceptance of it, with many protestations of his sincerity and friendly intentions.

We told the Nabob that we wanted no favour from him, but what came willingly and sincerely from his heart; that he had very lately, on the 28th of February, wrote a complaint against us to the governor, which he was afterwards himself convinced was groundless; and though he had made a private apology for this through Mr. Middleton, yet we would not accept of his present, unless he would signify his entire satisfaction with our conduct by a publick letter to the governor. This he readily promised to do, and accordingly dispatched a letter to the governor that night. Having on these conditions, after repeated expressions of his regard and confidence, agreed to accept the mark offered us of his favour, we desired that as the paper could be of no use to us, it might be given to Mahamud Reza Cawn, with orders for him to pay it; and it was accordingly delivered.*

A few days after the Nabob had thus given orders for payment of the presents, we were informed by the board, about the 20th of March, of the information already mentioned laid before them by Mr. George Vansittart, of a treacherous correspondence with Suja Doula, which had been carried on by Nuncommar, and we were acquainted that the board had resolved he should not be further trusted in publick business till he had cleared himself of this charge by a fair trial: at the same time a letter was sent by them to the Nabob, urging him in the strongest terms to send Nuncommar down to Calcutta to answer to these accusations. No service could possibly be required of the deputies more disagreeable to the Nabob, or which gave them a less prospect of ever receiving payment of the presents. (p.21) The Nabob resisted in the strongest manner the request of the board; he refused to send Nuncommar down, and said, if he did go, he himself would attend him to Calcutta, and be present at the trial. He complained to the board in a publick letter of the conduct of the deputies, and discovered every symptom of uneasiness and dissatisfaction. It will appear by the correspondence with how much steadiness and propriety of conduct the deputies fulfilled the instructions of the board upon this occasion. They at last prevailed: Nuncommar was, on the 28th March, sent down to Calcutta, in consequence of a second order from the board addressed to the Nabob, who then laid aside his intention of attending him thither.

While this was in dependence, Mahamud Reza Cawn discovered great anxiety to have Nuncommar sent down; he offered to me three lacks if I would effect this, and engage to use my influence that Nuncommar should never return from Calcutta. I treated this proposal as it deserved, and rejected it with indignation.*

The deputies continued their inquiries regarding the revenues, and laid a state of them before the board; and in consequence of instructions received, they settled with the Nabob the persons who were to superintend the collections at Muxadabad. All these measures, however disagreeable to the Nabob, were taken by the deputies, while the presents were still unpaid, and might have been without difficulty recalled or stopped.

Soon after Nuncommar had been sent to Calcutta, the Nabob appeared to have laid aside his resentment against the deputies. About the 1st of April he made a present to my brother of 50,000 rupees, when he went to take his leave to go and join the army at Patna.*

4. ON DECAYED STATE OF BENGAL COMPARED TO WHAT IT WAS BEFORE OUR RULE George Van Sittart to brother Henry Van Sittart

Bod: Dep b 100: George Van Sittart Papers: This is an extract of letter to his brother Henry Van Sittart; pages 80-9; from letter Book

Cal 29 Sept 1769

Dear Harry

...A reformation of the districts belonging to the Bengal province is the principal business which our rulers are at present engaged in. Since the Company's appointment to the Dewanny or in other words since the Government has fallen into the hands of the English every part of the country has been visibly on the decline. Trade, manufactures, agriculture are considerably diminished; many of the inhabitants have been driven by oppression from their homes, and the collection of the revenue becomes every year more difficult. To remedy these evils it has been resolved to send English gentlemen as supervisors into every district. Dinagepore has fallen to my lot, but I am at the same time to keep possession of Midnapore which will be taken care of during my absence by Pearce my asst. The instructions prepared for us are extremely [1] I may perhaps send you a copy of them hereafter, but for the present I will only attempt to convey to you a general idea of them. We are to enquire into the state of the revenue and trade for these twenty years past and write an historical detail of the changes and occurrences during that period; we are

to ascertain the amount of the collections from the ryots, the quantity of land whether waste or cultivated in every pargunna, both that which yields the publick revenue and that which by sunnuds, by force, or by fraud has been diverted to private uses under the appelation of Nancars, Jagheers, religious lands &c; we are to make a strict examination into the various abuses which have been committed; to form as exact an account as possible of the produce and manufactures of the country and the several imports and exports; to put a stop to all force and violence by a ready and impartial administration of justice; and to establish such regulations as may secure the ryots and manufacturers from oppression and prevent all monopolies in trade. This is the general plan and I think a very useful one, but some of the particulars which are recommended in the course of the instructions appear to me rather calculated for speculation than practice and likely to occasion a deal of unnecessary trouble; and there is one circumstance which unless altered may perhaps defeat the whole scheme. The collections are not put under the care of the supervisors but left in the hands of the dependents of the Moorshedabad ministry. Now their interest evidently requires that every possible obstruction should be thrown in the way of the supervisors, and the pretence of the collections being interrupted and balances occasioned by the measures we shall pursue will be an inexhaustible source of dispute. We are to act under the orders of the Resident at the Durbar, but the bounds of authority are not sufficiently defined.

The Bahar province is fallen still more to decay. It is in many parts rendered almost desolate, and the deduction of 1/4 of the revenue is I hear the least that is expected....

[1] Illegible in the original.

5. SELF-IMAGES OF CASTES IN THE MADRAS REGION: c.1770

Madras enquiry on Right and Left hand castes; Source: TNSA, Public Consultation, Vol. 106 App 797-801, consultation 14.11.1771.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE BRAHMINEES INHABITANTS OF THE ST.THOME

Your memorialists humbly beg leave to represent to your honours how much they are injured by one Caushee a Sooder, and in order to do it more plain and more clear, your memorialists will set forth here some particular circumstances of the customs and rights of the Hindus. (and) By keeping and preserving those laudable and ancient customs from time immemorial the ancient Hindus have after many thousands of years handed the same down to their posterity to this day, which observance if once broke through no more order nor regularity, will be preserved among the Hindus but all will run into confusion, to the disgrace of the ancient race of the said Hindus.

The Hindoos in general are divided into four rites, viz.: 1st Brahmins, 2nd Shatriyas, 3rd Veeshas, 4th, Soudras.

The Brahminees all over India are the superior cast and can never intermix with any other. Shatriyas comprehends all the Rajahs, governors, and the renters, and proprietors of land. Veeshas are mostly merchants and tradesmen.

Soudras comprehends many casts such as (p.798) serve under Brahmins &c. as also cow peoples, servants, Dubashes, pariahs &c.

The natural excuse of the Brahminees are to be generally the best of all other castes and to their degree of priesthood, honours are given to them respectively.

But Caushee against all system of the polite and usual custom practised among the Hindoos on this coast and all over Hindostan, and in direct violations there to admitted a pandaram (who is a sort of mendicant of the lowest cast of Soudra) to receive honours &c. due only to the high priest and Brahminees and all other casts. **Pandaram among the Hindoos is no priest. So the lowness of his cast will not admit him to partake of so great an honour*,** but only a man, who having left the work concerns himself only about the welfare of his soul and a future stay, which exercises may be adopted by any person of any cast that find himself in a disposition so to do, either real or as it sometimes happens feigned to serve a turn. But Cashee himself being of the tribe of the Soudra caste in defiance to the other three grand and superior caste to his, and through pride and ungovernable principles to distinguish and render himself remarkable, has attempted to break through the current and well regulated laws of the Hindoos to the great indignity and affront of the Brahminee, Shatriya and Veesha castes. He celebrated the funeral of the above mentioned Pandaram at St.Thome and carried the corpse through the streets in procession with all the marks and ensigns of honours due only to the high priests of the Brahminee and of course of all other tribes and buried the corpse in the dwelling house of the said deceased pandaram, which proceeding being in every respect contrary to the laws and customs of the Hindoos

The Brahminees who happened accidentally (p.799) to see the ceremony performed represented to Cashee the unwarrantableness of it, but he paid no regard to their remonstrances. Whereupon the Brahminees agreed among themselves not to go to the Pagoda at St. Thome to perform any religious ceremonies until Cashee and his associates would confess their fault and ask pardon. On finding which Cashee invited a few poor Brahminees from some of the neighbouring villages to perform the usual ceremonies of the Pagodas, who not harkening to your memorialists inhibition, and proving themselves disobedience, your memorialists were going to take of the string, which is the distinctive mark of the Brahminee as a punishment usual in such cases, when Cashee, Sarbroyah, Annathu, Parrianda, and some others of the Agamoodras fell upon your memorialists at St. Thome on the 12th of this present month of November and beat them and struck them in a very gross manner, and at night they joined a number of pariahs and other low people entered the houses of several Brahminees and beat them in a very severe and dangerous manner, abusing them with words, an insult of so gross a nature as had never happened before [and] deserved the severest punishment. Their presumption carried them even so far as to publish by beat of Tom Tom at St. Thome that the Nabob's Brahminee, Vencatta Chellum, should not ride through St. Thome in a palanquin although he is an inhabitant of that place.

Your memorialists humbly hope as the honour of the government is concerned in the present affiar, where individuals could arrogate to themselves the rights which is vested only in the lawful government of every place of altering ancient and long established customs when they judge proper and convenient to do for the good of the whole community, and when they could not any other way carry (p.800) their point to use force and violence, by calling riots and disturbances, forcing open houses, striking of people &c. Therefore your memorialists [hope] your Honour will be pleased to inflict such severe punishments on Cashee, Sarbroyah, Annatu, Parrianda and others their associates as the heinousness of their crimes merit (which in a Gentoo government would have been punished with death) and as to your honours may seem meet, and grant your memorialists such other relief in the premises as to your Honour may seem proper, and your memorialists as evidently bound will ever pray.

SECOND PETITION, 13TH INCIDENT:

That at St. Thome is situated a pagoda to the eastward of a large tank behind which is situated an agraharam, commonly called a number of Brahminee houses built and allotted to them by Comarappa Modelly, the father of Sarbroyah and Cashee, as also by (p.801) Tenbeahpah and Niniapah, and bound themselves and their heirs for ever not to dismiss the said brahminees from the above mentioned houses, and if they should [act] on the contrary, that **then the same weight of sins to lie against them, as this day has really killed a black cow on the river Cauvery.***

That notwithstanding such covenant .... Caushee ..... assembled at St.Thome did send some peons, pariahs &c. to send the Brahminees out of their respective houses and also the said Brahminees have promised their houses, yet they were barbarously beat, and ill-treated to the danger of their lives, and as the like has never before happened, nor have ever those who have built and allotted houses to the use of the brahminees have taken them back from them which caused some of the said brahminees to dispose of some of the said houses to others, **in particular as no such ill treatment never existed from the territories of Gangah to the territories of Seyhoo [Saryoo].***

The foregoing your petitioners humbly recommend to your Honours serious consideration as also the said Brahminees being now as pilgrims without houses. Your petitioners therefore humbly implore for such relief in the premises as your honour shall think fit.

British Decision (p.795) Two peittion from the Brahminees inhabiting St. Thome are also read. The matter complained of in the petitions are of such a nature that a long and particular enquiry into the religion and custom of the country can alone determine them. Nevertheless it is necessary that some immediate resolution be come to in order to put a stop to the disturbances which at present prevail at St.Thome, and since the right hand caste have taken upon themselves to determine a right and supported by violence, and which if really belonging to them ought to have been confirmed by government alone, *it is resolved* that till enquiry shall have been made Cashee and Sobrayoh be suspended from the management of the Pagoda there. That they do restore the houses to the Brahminees till enquiry be made concerning the rights of the said houses. That all public feasts and ceremonies be put a stop to, but that the brahminees have hitherto officiated to continue the daily servivces of the Pagoda, and that those brahminees who came from Trivatore to officiate do return thither, giving bail for their appearance whenever they shall be called for.

14.11.1711 *Present:* 1.Josiah Du Pre, Governor and President, 2. Warren Hastings, 3. Samuel Ardlly, 4. John Smith, 5. George Stratton, 6. Henry Brooke, 7. Richard Brichendon, 8. John White-hill, 9. George Mackay, 10. General Smith absent on service.

THE ANSWER OF THE TRIBES OR PEOPLE OF THE LEFT HAND CASTES INHABITANTS OF MADRASPATNAM TO THE PEOPLE PREFERRED BY THE RIGHT HAND CASTES AND CALLED BY THEM ON AN AUTHENTIC ANCIENT SUNDRY INNNOVATIONS & C.

MADRAS PUBLIC CONSULTATION, VOL. 106. B, pp. 948-959, and 959-971. (p.794) Right and Left hand dispute (Enquiry revenue ....) so very intricate(p.943-948)

RIGHT HAND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

1. From time immemorial it hath always been the ancient usage and customs for all left hand caste people who ride either in hackneys or on horsebacks, in palanquin, dooleys, or other carriages to the several feasts celebrated at Triplicane or Trivatore to alight at the entrance of the said villages and walk on foot to the pagodas whereas of late years the said left hand caste people have and still do presume to ride into the said villages even to the gates of their respective pagodas to the great annoyance of your memorialists, and scandal, offend to their ancient and religious ceremonies handed down by your memorialists pious ancestors.

9. Before the presidency of Thomas Pitt in the year 1708, they had no liberty to make publick shows or parades in any part of Madras and then, not before, obtained liberty to parade only in two streets in Muthialpettah called Kaleema Pagoda street and Annagrachitty street.

10. Formerly the left hand caste people at the time they went to Triplicane, always [by the] road close to the seashore as far as Tangmah Naicks well.

13. The whole left hand casts: to walk on foot constantly and to wear none but cooley sandals except on the days of their marriage (p.948) on which day they may ride but must have always some of the right hand castes people to attend and protect them

LEFT HAND REPLY: (p.948-959)

(p.956) The right hand caste people had advanced in their petition that the pariars will not let any of your respondents to ride upon carriages in their streets, which is no strange matter, the pariars being classed with the right hand castes and therefore will not suffer those of your respondents castes to ride in their streets. Shoe makers who had pertained to the left hand castes, will not suffer neither the right hand caste people to ride in carriages in their districts.

ANSWERS FROM LEFT HAND CASTES (p.966)

To the 9th article: Governor Thomas Pitt filled the chair of this presidency for 12 years and greatly increased the number of inhabitants and the trade of the settlements, by the wholesome and wise regulations which he made and as the people of the left hand castes are for the most parts merchants, tradesmen or useful mechanics he no doubt largely augmented their privileges and immunities and which the succeeding governors have thought proper to confirm.

(p.970) Cormattees or blacksmiths, tacher or carpenters, gold and silver smiths, brass smiths and stone cutters.

The above mentioned tribes are very useful to the generality of people of all castes whatsoever. For the ironsmiths and carpenters make ploughs and other tools and instruments of husbandry to till the land and manure ground for sowing and planting and reaping the harvest when ripe, and from these people the right hand [castes] and all mankind in the past of the world are supplied with food and victuals for their nourishment. As the brass smiths supply the people with brass and copper vessels and plate, and the carpenters and iron smiths provide the pot-makers with proper tools and moulds to make earthen vessels which are used by most tribes to put their victuals and water in it. As the iron stills or pens used by the natives to write upon their cadjans, knives to cut the cadjans as well as ink bottles for the use of writing on paper [are] all made by iron smiths. The carpenters and ironsmiths provide the publick with houses to live in and with often ease and conveniences of life in constructing of household furnitures, and with the looms and other instruments for weaving, in short most manufacturies required their aid, to be put in motion.

The goldsmiths make the golden jewels named bottu and thali which the bridegrooms of all castes whatsoever, of the pagan profession, raise with their own hands on the necks of the brides being the most essential ceremony in administrating of matrimonies. They also make the other ornamental part of jewels and are the chief managers in coining of money. (p.971)

The stone cutters are very useful in their way, for they are the chief artificers in building of pagodas and other fabricks and in constructing the statues worshipped by the Hindoos, so that without them, we would be at the greatest loss to carry on our religious worship.

The chacklie or the shoemakers: The shoe makers are generally the best soldiers and armed men in the country, who always serve the Polygars and are employed to guard the entrance of their woods, besides the usefulness of their profession to mankind, both directly to themselves and also to making of harness for horses and cattle, etc.

106 B. LEFT HAND VERSION: (p.969-71)

Chittys wholesale or retail merchants

Pollies armed men and soldiers; some polygars, others husbandmen

(970) *Cormawallies* or blacksmiths, tacher or carpenters, gold and silver smiths, brass smiths, and stone cutters.

The chittys are in general merchants, either by wholesale or retail and the usefulness of that body of people in every European settlement on coast particularly and through the Carnatak in general, need not be dwelt upon, as they conduct chiefly all the trades; and the envy and ill-will of the right hand people against them proceed therefrom because they cannot be on to see the chittys and generally those of the left hand castes so much superior to them in prosperity and affluence. Although all procured by their own industry and labour.

Pollies: are generally armed men and soldiers and the best in the country, some of them are polygars and the rest are husbandmen and farmers (p.970)

RIGHT HAND CASTES (p. 971,989, 991)

(p.981.) Ever since the foundation of pagodas as far as all annals mention viz the era of salivaghanah now 1693 years ago all the religious rites and ceremonies of every pagoda in the Carnatak have been solely managed and carried on by your remonstrance castes, and the left hand caste people have had [not] any concerns in conducting of regular ceremonies at pagodas except the present century since the honourable company have allowed them to settle at and have granted them some privileges in Madras.

Even the dancing girls and each and every of the servitors will not pay their dundam, or respects and compliments to any of the left hand [without permission of right hand people or their pandarams at Trivatore]

(p.1132.) the pariahs are the people that makes the finest thread in the Carnatak and that used for the Muslins are made in the following places: ...

List of castes and houses at Arnee 396 (p.1118-19)Thread making costs Arnee p. 1131.Weavers 3.12.1771(WH present, 2nd and warehouse keeper) p. 839-43, 847-49 (WH), 852-875 (WH), 2.12.1771, 999Nattwars 855-56, fixed gratutities 861, weaver conditions 872, WH 999-1005, (instructions 2.9.1771), 1016-17 (8.9.1771), 1032-34 (14.9.1771) 1044-45 (19.9.1771) 1049-50 (24.9.1771) Charles Smith 1005-1016, 1017 - 1032, 1034-43, 1045-49, 1050-53Data 1055-1133, Contents 1133-1144.

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6. THE MILITIA AND POLICE DEPRIVED OF THEIR LIVELIHOOD TURN DECOIT WARREN HASTINGS; A MEMO, EARLY 1773

British Museum: Add Ms 29207: Warren Hastings Papers; ff 38r-40r; 96r

The Board having thought proper to commit the superintendence of the courts instituted for the trial of offences against the public peace to my special care, I find myself compelled to address them on some points relating to this duty, in which I find myself unable to discharge it without their assistance.

Although the most beneficial consequences may be expected from the establishment of these courts, from the regular process with which they are conducted, and the equal distribution of justice which is thus provided for in every part of this extensive and populous country, yet I can not avoid expressing my apprehensions that the benefits are reserved to a period of more established order than the present administration has yet had time to effect, and that the public tranquility will not be secured without the exertion of other and extraordinary means.

At this time I have repeated complaints from all parts of this province of the multitudes of decoits who have infested it for some years past, and have been guilty of the most daring and alarming excess. I know not whether the knowledge of the evils has been officially communicated to the members of the Board. To me it has only come through the channels of private information, as I do not recollect to have heard the slightest intimation of them from the zemindars, farmers, or other officers of the Revenue, which may appear extraordinary, but that I am assured that the zemindars themselves too frequently afford them protection; and that the Reiats who are the principal sufferers by these ravages dare not complain, it being an established maxim with the Decoits to punish with death every information given against them.

The remedies for this evil will be best discovered from the knowledge of the means which have contributed to produce it. These may be reduced to the following heads.

1. The abolition of the Foujdarry jurisdiction and the Tannadaries dependent on it. This institution provided for the security of the public peace, and served as the official means of conveying regular intelligence of every disorder or casualty which happened in any part of the province. By its removal the confidence of the decoits is increased, nor has any other means been substituted for giving intelligence to the Government of such events as relate to the peace of the country.

2. **The resumption of the chaukeeran zemeen, or lands allotted to the tannadars and pykes for their service in guarding the villages and larger districts against robbers. Many of the people thus deprived of their livelihood have themselves turned decoits*.**

Such of the monthly servants allowed by our late regulations as receive their alotted pay are wholly employed for the service of the farmers in the business of their collections, but the greater part,I am assured, have their wages wholly withheld from them, so that none of them are of any utility to the community. This may perhaps account for the silence of the farmers with respect to the disorders committed in the districts.

3. *The Farming System:* useful as this is to the general welfare of the state, and of the people, it **is one of the principal sources of disorderly state of the mofussul, by the removal of that claim which the public by immemorial usage before possessed to the restitution of all damages and losses sustained by robbers, on the zemindars of the country. These having no longer the same authority can not be held accountable as they formerly were for the effects of it***, although the right of government has never been formally renounced. The farmers who stand in their places ought indeed to be made answerable for the disorders proceeding from their neglect, but whatever they were compelled to pay on

this account would be brought into their balances at the end of the year, and would thus fall ultimately upon the government itself.

4. I am sorry to enumerate among the causes of the increase of robbers, the regularity and precision which have been introduced into our new courts of justice. The dread which the common people entertain of the decoits, and the difficulty which even without such an impression must attend the conviction of an offender of this kind however notorious, before a Mahometan court which requires two positive evidences in every capital case, afford them an assurance of impunity in the prosecution of their crimes, since they generally carry on their designs in the night or under disguise. **Among those who have been convicted of robbery, I do not recollect an instance in the proceedings upon their trial in which the guilt has been proved by evidence, but by their own confession only, and this has occurred in so many instances that I am not without a suspicion that it is often obtained by improper means*.**

The chiefs of these banditti are generally as well, known to be such as if they were invested with a legal and public authority for the command which they exercise, yet it would be scarce possible to prove any direct fact against them on which they could be condemned*, and I have heard the names of some who have been taken up and examined on the notoriety of their character, but have been acquitted and released for want of evidence against them. With such offenders the authorised practice of the former government has ever been to ascertain the identity of the men, and to condemn them without waiting for further process to establish any specific charge against them. I know to what I expose myself by recommending a practice so repugnant to the equity and tenderness of our own constitution; but from a principle superior to every consideration which may affect myself, I venture to declare that unless the Government adopts the same summary mode of proceeding in such cases as I have described, I see no probability of freeing the country from the worst of oppression, or restoring it to security and order. **A rigid observance of the letter of the law is a blessing in a well regulated state, but in a government loose as that of Bengal is, and must be for some years to come, an extraordinary and exemplary coercion must be employed to eradicate those evils which the law can not reach*.**

I now proceed to ascribe the remedy to these disorders as it is pointed by the causes to which I have attributed them.

7. WARREN HASTINGS ORDERS FOR HARSHEST POSSIBLE PUNISHMENTS OF BENGAL DACOITS: c.1773

BL:ADD MS 29133 (Vol.II, Jan 1772 - June 1773): Warren Hastings Instructions on dacoits, 28, June 1773 (received 29th), ff 609-12, 612v

(Dacoits and Murderers: the Burdwan Bakaliz)

Chinchura, 28th June 1773Dear Sir, From the multitudes of thiefs, dacoits and murderers who fill the prisons of Hoogly, and from the representations which Mr.North has made to me of the enormities which they have committed and the alarms which others of that species who have escaped the hands of justice spread through the adjacent towns, I am induced to recommend to you the following plan for the abolition of these insufferable evil. To put to death every convict to death would be contrary to law and the sentence of the adawlut. Their punishments are too mild. There is no improprietory in commuting them... condemned to death, (ff 609v) be sold to perpetual slavery. The Dutch would gladly buy them. Nozea ? tells me, Lacaun would. Let them and their families be sold as our new law directs. It would be a terrible punishment in its extent when first enforced; but I am persuaded that it will operate so forcibly as an example that there will be little occasion for a repetition of it. Whenever it is done, I think, out of tenderness to the courts of justice, and to the laws by which they pass their decrees, that an advertisement should be published declaring the motives which have induced the government to pass the bounds prescribed by the laws (ff 610r) for the suppression of such a evil, for which the ordinary remedies are insufficient. The peace of the country, the safety of the lives of the people and the protection of private property, are objects of too great importance to set in competition with the rights which these abandoned outlaws may be supposed to derive from the rigid principles on which the fattwas of the courts of Nizamut are dictated. The very name of outlaw by which such offenders against the community are everywhere distinguished implies a forfeiture of those rights which others derive from the law, and a right in the government to treat them in whatever way it may judge most conducive

I am surprised (ff 610v) that I have not yet received an answer from the Nabob to my introduction of the first sentence of the Nizamut adawlut, nor the Daroga his confirmation of them. It is this, and the delays of that committal ? in its first initiation, to have caused such multitudes of criminals to remain in the jails and given so much encouragement to others. Let justice once proceed in her due course and I am persuaded we shall all be quiet again and peace and order of society restored.

The company are put to great extremity by the felons who had been condemned to the roads in Calcutta. I wish no more may be added to them. The scheme which I have recommended would not (ff 611r) only release the company from this expense, but raise a considerable fund if those robberies continue; and if they do not, the effect will be still more desirable. I would recommend that this fund be set apart and applied to the maintenance of the general police, and the restitution of effects plundered by the dacoits and that it be untouched for any other purpose.

You have now all my ideas on this subject, too loose and undigested for the board, and no wonder; but I wish you would take the trouble to reduce it to a more regular form and communicate it to the board, that they may pass more resolution upon it. In the meantime, (ff 611v) I request that you will order one company of sepoys to Hoogly to relieve the remainder of the Burdwan battallion stationed there, that these may proceed to Calcutta, to be disbanded and to be incorporated in the other corps, as C.Kydd has proved unfit(?). If two companies could be spared, they would be of much service; but I doubt you have them not to spare. I am my dear sir, Your affectionate friend and faithful and humble,...

Warren Hastings.

8. THE COMPLIMENTARY ROLE OF THE PRIVATEER SHIPS IN PLUNDERING OF ENEMY SHIPS A BRITISH GOVERNMENT MEMORANDA c. 1791

British Museum: Liverpool Papers : Add Ms 38351: Letter dated 12.10.1791 from Lord Hawkesbury (Ist Earl of Liverpool) to Mr Pitt (Prime Minister) : ff 3-93: draft with many alterations.

The naval force of Great Britain in time of war is of two sorts:

First King's ships.

Secondly, Private ships of war, commonly called privateers. These privateers receive their commissions from the admirality, which the Lord High Admiral, or the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty are obliged to give at the request of the owners, by the directions of an act of Parliament.

In a naval war it is not the Government alone that carries it on; the nation itself may be said to take a part in it, and such a spirit ought certainly not to be discouraged. The king and the two houses of parliament, are of this opinion, for the king has in every war given up his right to all the capture made by private ships of war, and parliament has enacted many excellent provisions for their[1] encouragement.

The ships belonging to the king are supported at the publick expence.

Privateers are supported, not at the publick expence, but by the profits derived from the captures made by them.

The ships of his majesty's navy from their size, and other circumstances, may not take so many merchant vessels, as ships fitted out by private persons, expressly for this particular sort of warfare; yet **it is well known, that the fortunes of all our great naval officers have been made, not so much by the emoluments of their professions, as by the capture of merchantmen, taken by ships under their command. If you deprive therefore, the officers of the British navy of this prospect, to improve their fortunes, or even diminish it to a considerable degree, you thereby take away, one great encouragement to active service**.

The right to seize in time of war, the property of an enemy on the open sea, in whatever ships it may be found, is so essential to all maritime powers, that it has never, I believe, been denied by one eminent writer on the law of nations. In the famous report of the 18th January 1753, made by Sir George Lee, Dr. Paul, Sir Dudley Ryder, and the present Lord Mansfield, it is expressly said, that "they, who maintain the freedom of the sea in its utmost extent, don't dispute, but that, when two powers are at war, they may seize the effects of each other upon the high seas, and on board the ships of friends".

In discoursing on this subject, we are too apt now to pay attention to, the principles of the late armed neutrality, and to suppose, that when we insist on seizing the goods of an enemy, on board neutral ships, we are acquiring a new right, or supporting one that is doubtful; when in fact, we are only claiming the

[1] Note in Pencil (Insert the following and any other reference that may hereafter seem to occur in the margin with red ink.) In proportion as you diminish the chance of making captures, you discourage the fitting out of private ships of war; and if you so far restrain the right of making captures, that the Aimateurs or those, who are disposed to fit out private ships of war, are not likely to derive advantage, sufficient to compensate the charge and risque, you in fact, annihilate this branch of the publick force. In time of war, the ships of his majesty's navy, attack and destroy the ships of war belonging to the enemy, and thereby make Great Britain mistress of the sea. It is then, that private ships of war, begin to act with success, and they have a great share in destroying the commerce of the enemy. Tho some privateers are equipped for long voyages, and are able therefore to sail into distant seas, yet much the greater number, being equipped and victualled, but for a few weeks, can only make captures near at home, that is, in the European seas.

exercise of a right, which our ancestors have always hitherto maintained thinking it essential to Great Britain as a maritime power.*

Let us now see how far, the concessions proposed to be made to the Republick of Holland, as before stated, will limit and restrain the lawful exertions, either of his majesty's ships, or of private ships of war, in making capture, in any future war with France. In case of a war with Spain, or with other maritime powers, the same arguments in many respects be applicable.

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[The letter was written by Lord Hawkesbury on "Dutch Treaty" It began:] Dear Sir, I sit down to state upon paper, as you desired, the arguments urged the other day in conversation, and such others, as have since occurred to me, against the proposition of granting to the Dutch the privilege, which they wish to obtain, of being the carriers of the property of an enemy, whenever Great Britain shall be engaged in war; which privilege is proposed to be inserted in a treaty, called a commercial treaty, now under consideration.

When I wrote a discourse on the rights of neutral nations, in time of war, more than two and thirty years ago, I then treated this subject principally as a question of right, adverting only occasionally, to the question of Policy : I mean to treat of it at present, merely as a question of Policy.

So many alterations have already been made, and so many others are now proposed to be made in the original project, on which the present negotiation is founded, that I find some difficulty in stating correctly, what is at present intended by either party, at least by the minister of Holland. The sense however, which I give to the propositions, as they now stand, is, as follows. That the ships belonging to the subjects of each of the contracting parties (Great Britain and Holland) shall have a right, when the other is at war, to carry to and from the ports of an enemy in Europe, all articles of merchandize, tho they are the property of an enemy; and in like manner to carry from one port to another, belonging to the same enemy, and from the ports of one enemy, to the ports of another enemy, all articles of merchandise, tho they are the property of an enemy.

9. D. ANDERSON TO MRS. CAMPBELL REGARDING THE 1769 BENGAL FAMINE; (EXTRACT) 1.11.1770

BM: Add Ms 45438 : ff 14-15r from Calcutta. The letter to Mrs. Campbell is the first letter in this letter-book.

We have had a most severe famine here this last season. History scarcely affords an instance of the like. The number of natives who died merely for want of sustenance is almost incredible; nor have the Europeans been entirely exempted from its effects, for in the months of June and July, the people perished so fast (ff 14v) that the living were unable to bury the dead, so that the heaps of petrified bodies laying exposed to the sun produced an unwholesomeness in the air, to which I imagine may in a great degree be ascribed the sickness which had prevailed amongst the Europeans particularly those of the lower class. The surviving inhabitants are now happily relieved from their distress by a plentifull crop, but the consequences ensuing to the Company from the impoverishment and depopulation of the country will I fear be felt for a long series of years.

10. D.ANDERSON TO HIS BROTHER FRANCIS ON 1769 FAMINE: 10.1.1771 (Extract)

BM: Add Ms 45438 : ff 14-15r from Calcutta. The letter to Mrs. Campbell is the first letter in this letter-book.

(ff 31v)... The last season was more unhealthy than any of the others which I have passed in Bengal. And a famine prevailed in so severe a degree that history scarce affords a single instance of the like in any age or in any country. The number of natives who died merely for want of sustenance would seem to you incredible. I have myself beheld upwards of 100 dead bodies in the space of a mile. And to this may I imagine the unhealthiness, that subsisted amongst the Europeans be attributed. For the heaps of corpses that lay petrifying in the sun, without doubt produced a contagion in the air extremely pernicious to all who breathed it.

11. DAVID ANDERSON TO DR. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE ON LEARNING PERSIAN, AND PERSIAN LITERATURE, AND SCIENCES

BM : Add MS 45438 : ff 70-3, 11.9.1772 (p 112-8: Letter Book (to England) 1770-80, Indexed.)

11 September 1772

My dear Sir

As there are no incidents in life which we recollect with so much pleasure as these which occurred in our infancy, so the friends who have manifested their regard to us in our youth we remember with particular warmth, and the impressions they have made in our mind, instead of being any wise effaced become stronger and stronger by time and distance. When these are my sentiments, need I assure you, that it is with uncommon satisfaction I hear from my father of your being in good health, and that you are so kind as to express to him a continuance of that friendship, which you formerly evinced towards me.

Since my arrival in this country the little time which I have been able to spare from the business of the Company, has been chiefly devoted to the study of the Persian language. In this pursuit, though my (ff 70v) attention has frequently been distracted by other cares, I flatter myself, I have not been altogether unsuccessful. The arts and sciences seldom flourish under an arbitrary government so that a person of a literary turn is not to look for improvement in the books of the modern East. It is only however by perusing them that a person curious in the affairs of this country can push his researches into the nature and origin of the laws and peculiar customs, which are found to prevail amongst the natives of Indostan. And this object is of great importance to every one, who wishes to distinguish himself in the service of the country. For if he is ignorant in these respects he is but ill qualified to act in a legislative capacity, which sooner or later may be the lot of every individual of their civil establishment. But it is in the first stage of his service, and in the detail of business, that he feels most sensibly the satisfaction and advantage he derives from a knowledge of the Persian, and it is with this view, that it is chiefly studied.

It is not my intention from what I have already advanced, to imply that the arts and sciences are entirely unknown in this country. It is generally, I believe, admitted that many of them took their rise in Arabia, and as the Arabians over-ran and subdued the greatest part of their neighbouring nations, (ff 71r) they diffused their knowledge with their religion throughout the countries, which they conquered, and from thence they gradually spread to the most eastern boundaries of Indostan. Had the nature then of the government been as favourable for the cultivation of the arts in the eastern, as it is in the western nations of the world, possibly they might at this date have acquired an equal degree of perfection. Whereas on the contrary they have remained in the same state without the smallest alteration or improvement. The mathematicks in particular stand still, and consequently the number and branches which depend upon them. In mechanicks their operations are extremely simple, and the grand principles so well known in Europe, seem now to lay concealed, I say concealed, because from some stupendous works, which I have heard of on the Coromandel coast, I am apt to think they have not always been entirely unknown. Astronomy is little studied and those who have acquired but a very small knowledge of it are able to impose on the unlettered multitude, who are easily persuaded to believe that they have the knowledge ascribed to astrologists, and consult them to fix upon an auspicious day, before they undertake any business of consequence. This superstition seems to have been borrowed from the Hindoos. You will at once conceive a just idea of Indian astronomy, when I tell you, that the system followed seems (ff 71v) exactly the same which was adopted formerly by Ptolomeus (?). I have procured for you an Astrolabe, which a learned man of my acquaintance assures me is the only instrument they have for taking altitudes, or ascertaining the time of the day with precision. It will be forwarded to you by my father and I shall be

happy if it proves new or curious to you. On finishing this letter, if I can find leisure, I shall send you an account of the manner in which it is used, which though you do not understand the figures, will serve to explain to you the principles, on which it is made.

Physick is studied here, and there are some who have acquired reputation from their having obtained a knowledge of the virtues of a few plants. These indeed and a few nostrums (?) compose the principal part of the science of physick in India. The anatomisation of bodies is held in abhorrence and never practised. Consequently their knowledge of the human frame, and the disorders to which it is subject, must be very deceptive.

In a country where the subjects are governed by the arbitrary will of a despotick monark unrestrained by constitutional laws, and where they are hourly liable to the oppressions of his officers, fear is the predominant principle of their actions, and the good or evil which they do seldom proceeds from any sense (ff 72r) of moral obligation. But though the natives of Indostan rarely practice these virtues which are found to flourish in free states, they are not entirely destitute of written systems of moral philosophy. Persia in former times supplied the East with many works of this kind, some of which are not without a degree of merit. Amongst these are the works of Shogh Saddee and the Ehlak al Musanein. The last of these books is now laying before me, and as it may afford you entertainment, I shall extract a page of it, which, making proper allowances for what it suffers on the translation, will give you a idea of the whole.

On the Proper Use of Time

"It is apparent and manifest to men of wisdom and speculative knowledge, whose illuminated minds cast a lustre around them like the bright rays of the sun, that the life of man passes away like the flashes of lightening, and that the days of his existence like the waves of the ocean are instable and transitory. As every moment that elapses is an irreparable jewel we ought to learn to value it; and as every minute affords us an irrevocable opportunity it behoves us not to let it escape. It is beyond the limits of human power to recall that part of our life which is past, and that which is to come lays concealed under the dark veil of futurity. But betwixt the past and the future, there is a period of time which (ff 72v) is called the present, and being the only part of our life we can actually command, we ought to endeavour to accomplish our ends in it before it elapses. And he alone can be deemed fortunate, who in this fleeting and transitory life acquires reputation and fame by actions of humanity, mercy and benevolence; for fame is like a second life is and often exists for many generations."

The author then proceeds to illustrate what he has advanced by relating some anecdotes of Moshirvan (?), who reigned about 1200 years ago, and is still famous for his clemency and justice. He afterwards in the same manner goes through the several virtues, shows how far each is conducive to a man's happiness, and gives an instance drawn from authentic history. Many of his maxims coincide with those laid down by our moral philosophers, and the whole book though written by a Mussulman seldom discover any of the tenets, which distinguish his faith.

Want of leisure obliges me to draw to a conclusion. To this more than want of inclination you are being obliged for being so soon relieved from the perusing of a dull letter.

Before however that I finish it, it is necessary I should inform you that the observations I have made chiefly relate to the Mahometan part of the natives of this country; they are indeed proportionately (ff 73r) very few in number, but the Government being in their hands, they have long had the ascendancy and it is their language only that I understand. Possibly I may hereafter trouble you with a letter on the Gentoos, who are with vast strides now daily regaining the pre-eminence.

My father will make you acquainted with the success which has in genral attended my labours. On this subject therefore I need say nothing. My brother James is with me. He desires his grateful remembrance to you. He has had a very narrow escape from shipwreck. Accept my best wishes that you may long enjoy health and happiness.

I am

(D.A.)

Mootey Zheel

11 September 1772.

BM : Add Ms 45430: Correspondence of D. Anderson (mostly letters received) 1770-1773: ff 282-5 Note: Anderson letter of 11.9.1772 to which the letter below is a reply is in Add Ms 45438, ff 70-3. There does not appear to be any further correspondence between them nor is there any other correspondence of this nature in the Anderson Collection (Add Ms 45417-41). David Anderson was in the Bengal service, joining the military service on coming to Bengal, from about 1768 to 1785. In the latter years of his service he was for a time president of Committee of Revenue in Bengal. For a year or so in 1781-2 he also acted an ambassador from the Bengal Government to the Scindia (and perhaps to other Marattha rulers also).

Dr Alexander Mackenzie to David Anderson :

...As for the medical art, it is perhaps happy for the Indians that its practitioners have not improved it farther than the hint you have given me of it, and well were it for us Europeans that Asia, Africa and America had not been ransacked for drugs to feed the vanity of some of us and kill the luxury of many more; while the medical virtue of trees, plants, flowers, fruits and seeds, fittest for our food and physick and growing up with ourselves in abundance are so shamefully disused or neglected by our modern practitioners. (ff 284r) But leaving arts and sciences to your further discussion in return to your pompous extract from your favourite philosopher Mussanein give me leave to excite an exercise your curiosity by the following copy of a passage taken from a treatise of natural, or if you please, unnatural philosophy lately published here by a senator of the college of justice. Lord Mantadoo (?) relates and believes that a Swede named Keating Lieutenant aboard a Dutch East India ship of force, saw on the island Nicobar in the Gulf of Bengal a race of man with tails like those of cats which they moved in the same manner. That they were cannibals,.... Now as a tradition of human cats which were seen not earlier than 1647 of our era may yet remain in the memory of some (ff 284v) old inhabitants on the coast of that Gulf, it would not be pains or labour lost to enquire into the truth of a phenomena so singular in its kind a task which lyes at your door to clear up for or against an ugly tail with which his lordship is disgracefully painted in this island. ...

12. THE BRITISH THREATENED BY TRAVELLING SANYASIS IN BENGAL: c.1773

Source: Scottish Record Office, GD29/2/36 dated Hoogly, 29.1.1773 - Extract

When he [my brother] arrived at Denagepore, which lay in his road to Purnea, he was alarmed with the intelligence of a large body of sanyasis, having come into the provinces of Denagepore and Rungpore. These are a sect of religious people more commonly known by the name of fuckeers, who make it their business once in two or three years to leave their homes and travel towards the sea, where there is an island called Sagur at the mouth of the Ganges to which they resort for the purpose of celebrating their religious ceremonies, agreeable to a custom which has been long established amongst them, in short, it seems in a great degree to correspond with the custom described to us in our Bible of the tribes going to visit Jerusalem. It has been a custom also equally fixed with them to levy contributions upon the countries they had occasion to pass through, all which as they declare is meant to be expended in the performance of their religious rites. This has been at different periods an invariable source of oppression upon the poor inhabitants **and of course, a great detriment to the [revenue] collections***. It has therefore been our business for these several years back to prevent this calamity, and to consider at once such incursions as hostile, and if possible to remove them by force of arms. To follow the same rule then, the alarm of their molestations having first reached Rangpore, a Captain, by name Thomas, was detatched against them with about 90 seapoys to disperse them and drive them from the country. This number of regular troops was esteemed as a sufficient force against such a set of banditti and nay the truth was, it was all could be spared as there was not left behind above an equal number to protect the station of Rangpore, but alas upon trial they proved too few, for the number of the sanyasis far exceeded their expectations, they being about 3 or 4,000.

This however did not hinder the Captain from attacking them and accordingly upon his first engaging them (which was however in the night) he dispersed them; but day approaching and they learning the strength of his force and all his ammunition being expended, they returned upon them and cut the captain and above half his detatchment to pieces. The news of this defeat being carried to Rungpore, with a further intelligence of the sanyasis having taken their route that way filled the gentlemen with fears and apprehensions, however they determined to muster all their force and if they came to give them a warm reception. But they thought proper not to push their good fortune any further, and went off by another road. My brother was under the same suspense at Denagepore, with not above 40 seapoys sick and well for his protection. In this situation it would have been next thing to madness in him to have attempted a stand against them, had they come; and they not having done so, my brother can only attribute to their ignorance of the smallness of their force, and the state of the treasury at Denagepore which had then in it 3 lakhs of rupees, for he does suppose had they known either they would have paid him a visit. However he had in that case prudently determined upon a plan for a regular retreat, and to have carried the Company's treasure along with him. But a couple of days showed the event [as a] whole and he pursued quietly his journey to Purnea where he now is. This was a disaster of too serious a nature for it to escape the most particular attention of our administration, because these people, flushed with the success so fortunately gained over our arms, might be led to repeat and carry their ravages to a much greater height; two batallions have therefore been sent out to chastise their insolence, with I hope unlimited orders to hang or otherways destroy every man of them, and without such rigourous as these measures are pursued we may make an yearly allowance for part of our troops to be harrassed and destroyed, **the revenues retarded and diminished*** and the country unpeopled.

In a letter I had from my brother from Purnea dated the 15th instant, he mentions his having arrived there the 4th and his being labouriously employed in enquiring into the state of affairs there, which are in so uncertain a situation that no present remedy can prevent, an enormous deficiency being incurred in the present years revenue - which my brother says is to be imputed to a variety of causes, was most of all to a pernicious system which has hitherto prevailed in that district; **the lands have not been farmed out but their collections made immediately from the cultivators upon whose will and pleasure the revenues to be received has solely depended*.** In this unfixed state their dispositions are bound to be turbulent, unruly and litigious. In short they cultivate as they please and they pay as they please, and the alternative of constraining them in either way has been immediate flight and desertion of their lands for the year. **Upon so precarious a footing as this, it will not any longer appear to you strange the rise or fall of revenue should be enormous*.** That this evil might have been rectified long ere now is certain - had but the simple mode of letting the lands to farm to a set of substantial head farmers been pursued, who in all probabilities for their own security would have introduced a number of inferior renters who would have made it their business to keep up a frequent and familiar intercourse with the ryots, or cultivators, ascertained their possessions and in the end brought them to enter into agreements for fixed and established payments. This is the plan my brother means to recommend and adopt in Purnea and unless it can be done its revenue must ever be uncertain and government must lye at the mercy of their ryots for a discharge of it. What success will attend his endeavours must now very soon be known as in his letter to me he hopes to be able to return to Moorshedabad by the 15th of next month and by the beginning of the following to proceed down to the Presidency. Mrs. Dacres and Lawrell by last accounts I heard were at Denagepore settling that province. What has been the issue of their operations there, I have not yet learnt.

13. ORISSA TRAVEL ACCOUNT: 1776

Bodleian : Dep b 66 : Titled `Journey of a March from Ballasore to Somulpoor'. Dated 1766. 36 pages. Author George Vansittart, member of the council of Bengal. The extract below ends at the bottom of page 10 except for two lines of a next para.

(9) From this part of Orissa, which lyes between this and Cottai, come all that people which the English improperly call Ballasore Bearers. This circumstance contributes also in some measure to the depopulation of this country, for although this people stretch the *levitasal law*, so far, that a brother not only raises up seed to another after his decease, but even during his absence on service and by that means no woman lyes idle, and although few of those who go to Bengal settle there, yet as they return with some money, and with hands softened by the luxury of Calcutta, they ever after choose to loiter after a herd of cattle than to apply to the labour of the plough and a tract of land to supply that herd with pasture would be sufficient for the support of 30 families if applied to the purpose of agriculture.

(10) The bearers of Calcutta form a commonwealth, the most politic in the world. They have for their motto *concordin resparve crecent*, and by concord alone have they made themselves masters of the conquerors of Indostan. They have a Porramonick or judge, and hold frequent councils, in which every thing is settled for the good of the community, and when a resolution is formed neither strifes nor bonds must cause any member to recede; if he does he is banished *ab aris ot focis*.

The air of Bengal has a surprising effect on them, for here they are reported by their neighbours to be the greatest thieves on earth, whereas there they are trusted with every thing. It is true they have bye-laws which make it impossible almost to detect them in case of a robbery. For by them, first a bearer is to perjure himself, rather than accuse another and secondly; they will suffer none but their brethern to enter their houses, pretending they shall lose cast, whereas it is well known an European may go into the house of a Bramin, and it will have no other effect, than obliging him to break his earthen pots. They have gained their present ascendance over the English by taking advantage of the ruling passion of Calcutta indolence, for if a person incurs the displeasure of this worshipfull society, he may walk till he dies of a fever. **I have known them carry their authority so far as to fine a poor gentleman for accidentally spitting in his servant's face, though the man was no more defiled by it than by his own urine nor had it any other consequence than obliging him to wash before he eat: but the society regarding it as an insult it was his place to submit***. Many other absurdities have they made by their union the English to swallow. Was that union as firmly engaged in the most glorious of causes the defence of their native country, the Marhattas would never be able to keep them in submission.

pp 19.......... It is surprising to me how the gardeners in this country have stole from the Bommins the right of officiating in the temple of Roodur and Bawanee. Was a person of that cast to do so in Bengall, all the Bommins would rise against him, and thunder the most shocking anathamas against them. It is certain the Bommins originally confined the priesthood to their own tribe. It is certain the priesthood is beneficial because the priests hold everywhere large tracts of land in the name of their God rent free, besides keep the management of all the lands appropriated to religious purposes in their hands. By what means then the laity have been admitted to share this advantage with them I cannot conceive. I enquired of a Bommin regarded as a man of bearing. He told me Roodur and his family were so jealous and punished the least omission in their duty (p.20) with so much severity, that the Bommins not caring to serve him longer gave up that office, reserving to themselves only the right of officiating to *Wisnoo* or Jagunaut. This is scarce possible for the Gentoos being actuated rather by fear than by God are much more generous in their offerings to the God that hurts them, than to him that does them good, and the service of Roodur consequently is much more advantageous than that of *Wishnoo*. The Bommins of this

country have thus lost the means of supporting themselves without labour, are more illiterate than those in Bengall, which has also an effect on their religion, in the practice whereof they are not near so strict, selling and even eating fowls, creatures held in so great abomination by all other Bommins, that if one of them alights on their house it obliges them to break their earthen water potts.

Opposite this part of the Bankey country on the other side of the river is the chuchla of Tigorea, the Raja of which is named Chumput Sing. This Raja has taken great pains to improve his country by keeping it in a state of tranquility. When Sheeoo Butt wanted the zemindaries of Dinkanol and Burrumba, because they did not pay their rents, he invited the weavers who fled from thence to settle in his country at the village of *Nid* Patna, to which place he annexed extraordinary privileges, and has since given all possible encouragement to merchants. That place therefore bids fair to be a flourishing aurung if not nipped in the bud by the rapacity of the Marhattas.

pp. 25…….(Puddamtola ….. 10 miles from Burnule)…. They grow no grain or pulse but such as ripen in the rainy season, as for such as ripen in March and April, they are entirely neglected, because the inhabitants expect the Marhattas to over run the country in those months.

The policy of the Marhattas in the government of those parts, appears at first shocking, but a more close examination on the principles of the eastern nations convinces us that it is adapted to the manners of the inhabitants and to the situation of the country. To a son of liberty taught, that government was intended for the protection of every individual and that the meanest, who finds himself oppressed by it has a right to complain and be redressed, if such redress is not (in) consistent with the common weal, it will appear strange that a sovereign, the head servant of the state, should march an army into any countries subject to him, and suffer it to live at discretion until the inhabitants agree to pay a sum to support that army, and keep it in readiness to play the same game the next year. He will at once pronounce that to give money to be employed for your own destruction is unnatural. While an inhabitant of the eastern world, whom the climate invites to ease the desire of which arms him with a stoical indifference, forbid by natural suspicion of his temper from forming such an alliance with his neighbour as may protect them both, submits to any thing he cannot alone resist and bred up with the most abject notions of subordination, in the midst of his misery impiously pronounces it the will of God. At the same time a mean cunning ever the attendant or a servile disposition, make it a folly to repose the least confidence in them.

When Rogoojee entered Orissa at the instigation of Meer *Hubbid*, who had fled disgusted from Alivurdi Khan's service in 1738, he found all these parts divided into small zemindaries dependent on the Rajah of Pooree at whose capital the famous Temple of Jagganaut is. Suspicious of this Rajah's power, he made all the zemindaries dependent on Cottai; and thus formed the Chuclas of Dinkanol, *Bonkay*, Nursingpoor, Tigorea, Tolchari, Cundea, Parra, Duppullor, Hindole, Ungool and Boad. The four first are kept in order, by the neighbourhood of Cottai, the others are refractory, and make their payments, only when they have an army at their doors. Since his time the Marhattas finding the revenues of these countries not sufficient to pay a force sufficient to keep them in awe usually march their troops after the rains, and take what they can from them. If this like all other eastern armies lives at discretion, the Rajah only is to be blamed for bringing such vengeance on his country, by not being punctual in his payments.

pp. 31............. The ordinary revenues of the country are paid in kind and the regulation of it is easy for each village being rented at a certain number of measures of rice in the husk, the ground is again rated at a certain number of measures of rice to the inhabitants. In this manner a person being of a proper age is enrolled as a fighting man and allowed for his subsistence half a measure of rice per day and *three* rupees per annum for clothing. As much arable land is then made over to him as it is rated at 202-1/3 measures. Of this he (is?) to pay the Rajah 60-5/6 measures and the remainder is for his own use. The land is given in charge of the wife who feeds him and provides for paying the rent, and if it produces more than it is rated at, it is her profit, if less, her loss. The reserved rent of three or four villages being always one fourth of the value of the land are applied to the use of the Rajah's household, the reserved rent of the rest is

given to his relation or principal servants of the villages dependent on them. The extra revenues consist of duties on merchants and others passing through the country and of fines. The former are not settled but depend on the conscience of the Rajah, and indeed within (those? three?) years since he robbed and plundered a Nagpoor merchant of considerable wealth, near this place, none have passed this way. The latter also are entirely arbitrary, nor is it necessary to find a man guilty of any crime in order to fine him in a country where money (cannot be acquired?) by means prejudicial to society.

With respect to the power of government the Rajah is arbitrary, but idly delegating all his authority to his servants and he cannot resume it without murdering them, for if they got any notice of their approaching disgrace and find themselves not a match for the Rajah, they fly to the village, the reserved rent of which belongs to them, and assembling the people of it, stand on their defence. This will be better explained by an history of the last three years.

In the year 1763, Ajeet Sing was Rajah and Dewan Roy Duvan. This man taking advantage of his master's indolence acquired such an ascendance over him, that he directed everything according to his own will and pleasure. At length some busy body roused the Rajah, and represented the extreme dependance of his situation. The Rajah privately consulted with the people about (p.32) and reflecting it would be dangerous to attack the Dewan openly because he had so many villages dependent on him, resolved to get him assassinated. This resolution suited the genius of the natives who were very sensible in the midst of (his) disturbances, consequent on such assassination, the plunder of the Dewan's house would fall to their share, they therefore readily come to the place, and the Rajah having on the 16th June, ordered the Publick Hall to be cleared of every body except the Dewan, on pretense that the Rannee would pass through it on her way to a Temple whither she was going to pay her devotions and would then speak to him. He not suspecting anything, but waiting for her, when eight or ten ruffians, who had been concealed for the purpose rushed out and cut him to pieces. This was the signal for plundering his house which the populace instantly did, and although the Rajah sent a party to secure his share of the booty, he got scarce any thing.

pp 33........ The forces of the Rajah consist of all the men able to bring and bear arms and may amount to 15,000. These are allowed each two pounds of rice per day, when upon service; about 500 of them are armed with matchlocks, and these receive higher pay than the rest, who have only swords and shields and bows and arrows.

14. SUGGESTIONS REGARDING EXTENSION OF BRITISH POWER AND INFLUENCE IN BUNDELKHAND, c.1777

Source: Edinburgh SRO: GD 29/2131/3A

1. Letter from F.G. to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Benares, 6th February 1777

I conclude that the constant employment you must find in your Europe despatches as well publick as private is the only cause why I have hitherto been deprived the pleasure of the letter you promised in your favour of the 23rd Dec. to write me, and which as you said it should contain mention of such matters as you wished to recommend to my attention. You may suppose I am the more anxious to receive it least from being ignorant of your sentiments I may inadvertently adopt a conduct not altogether agreeable to your inclinations. I have reason to think that I have yet steered clear of error, and that I shall continue to do so untill the arrival of your instructions, which I hope will be soon and accompanied with a letter to the Rajah, who I believe for want of that necessary credential from you has treated me with a distance of reserve bordering upon distrust which I am well convinced he would no longer observe were he made sensible that I am a person in whom you can confide. This idea has struck me more forcibly from his never having shown a wish to make use of my channell to entreat your good offices in effecting the return of Ossan Sing although he is under the greatest apprehensions of his appearing in Calcutta. From the perfect knowledge he has of all his family matters he certainly is a man in every shape qualified to hurt his interests, so much as to have it in his power to call in question his right of inheritance. I believe it is a deep laid plot and that old F is at the bottom of it. This seems to me the more probable as just at the time he took his departure intelligence was received here of Ossan Singh being arrived as low as Moorshedabad. Seeing that he is supported underhand by so bold and able a conductor the Rajah ought to spare no pains to induce his return. Had he consulted me upon the occasion I should long ere now have

recommended his pursuing measures the most promising of bringing about a reconciliation between them but as matters had been allowed to go on I believe Ossan Sing is proceeding with a rooted enmity and a mind highly disaffected to the welfare of his family. And if as I have above suspected he has connected himself with old F and an interview takes place between them at the city and I am afraid it will be a difficult matter to effect his quiet and peacable return to Benares. On this subject I hope to be indulged with your sentiments. The Rajah has effected a reconciliation with his cousin Munihar Sing, (who you must have heard was a party with Ossan Sing in the family differences) but which he did not accomplish without the most submissive entreaties and agreeing to restore him to the enjoyment of the Jagheer he formally possessed.

[*On Bundelkhand:*] You must long since have heard of the death of Rajah Hindooput the principal Zamindar of Bundlecond, and of the dissensions which subsist regarding the succession. It has struck me that our government might not only take a useful but advantageous interest therein. By establishing one party I think a considerable sum of money might be obtained and by allying him to our government we would hold an influence in a country which added to our present possessions would compleat the barrier betwixt us and the Maharattoe dominions. In order that you may be the better able yourself to judge of the practicablity of effecting such a measure, I shall here give you what information I have been able to procure of their rise and present situation of their disputes. Hindooput at his death bequeathed the zemindary to the youngest of his two sons, partly through the intercession of the Ranny mother, and partly they say at the instigation of one Beny Hazoory, a man originally of low birth but who had acquired considerable influence in his councils, and I understand joined to the Ranny is the only person who supports his pretensions. On the other hand the elder son has got in his interest the Rajahs Goman Sing and Coman Sing descendants of the 2nd or 3rd generations from Chutter Sall Donga, the father of Hindooput and who next to him have the largest territorial possessions of all the zemindary of Bundlecond. He has further they say gained to his party Balajee Govind, the Maharattoe with whose participation and assistance he is now preparing a force to seize upon the diamond mines now in the

possession of his brother. Upon the statement of affairs it would appear most prudent and equitable to promote the pretensions of the eldest son in supporting which, if it was found necessary to assist him with force, I would recommend we being made of the troops of the Rajah Chyte Sing whereby the Company would incur little or no expence for even if the charges were to exceed what the Rajah now pays for the maintenence of his troops it would only be making him usefully employ a part of that treasure which he annually accumulates and throws lost to the world, into his fort of Beeshagur. If the eldest son has more powerful opponents then I am yet informed of I would at once make a conquest of Bundlecond for him upon his engaging him to make himself tributary to our Government, and we on our part would engage to render the other zemindars of Bundlecond tributary to him. This might be done upon the plea of his being the oldest son in linial descent from Chattur Sal Donga who enjoyed the superiority of the whole province of Bundlecond, but on whose death a division of the zemindary took place.

It is not improbable my information as to the relationship of the families is erroneous and my ideas on the subject may be more chimerical than sound, but if we do not take some part in those commotions I should not be at all surprised if Nidjiph Cawn were to take upon himself to arbitrate their differences by making a conquest of the country for his own behalf whereby he would get immense riches, an acquisition which would doubtless render him formidabble and his present turn of mind might also induce him to become a troublesome neighbour to us.

I have never had an opportunity of studying the politicks of Hindostan and am therefore ill qualified to pass an opinion on what I have above suggested, as I know not how far such an undertaking would affect the interests of the other powers. I therefore with deference submit the whole to your maturer judgement, hoping that if I have been guilty of an impropriety in intruding upon you my ideas, you would attribute it to a want of knowing better, and not to impertinent forwardings or a desire of appearing opinionated.

In passing the receipts of the Rajahs tribute I observe Mr. Fowke has always made use of his own seal, as it is a publick transaction I should imagine that one in the name of the Company would properly applied not only as becoming their dignity but would be a kind of additional attestation of their sovereignity over the country. Upon the strength of this opinion I have had one cut whereof I enclose you the impression that you may determine whether it is rightly worded, and whether it will be proper I should make use of it. Which I shall not do until I receive your answer.

I need not observe to you that if you approve my hint regarding Bundlecond there is no time to be lost in opening some negotiations. Otherwise, it would appear the Mahrattoes will acquire that very influence which I think would be more safely lodged in the hands of our government.

2. Letter from F.G. to the Hon'ble W. Hastings, Esq., Benares, 21st Feb. 1777

In a letter I did myself the pleasure of addressing you under date 6th instant, I troubled you with a few thoughts regarding the present state of affairs in Bundlecond, but as upon further enquiry I find the apprehension I therein expressed, of my being misinformed with respect to the genealogy of the family of Chuttar Sall, are not without foundation, I beg leave to give you a more perfect relation thereof.

In the first place you will receive enclosed a very awkward drawing of a genealogical tree containing the names of the offsprings of Chuttarsall Donga down to the present period.

Chuttar Sall had two sons, viz, Heerdah Saw and Juggit Roy. To the former he bequeathed ten annas of his zemindary and to the latter six annas. Heerdah Saw had one son by name Soubah Sing. Juggit Roy had three sons the names of the eldest and the youngest I have not been able to learn. The name of the second was Pahar Sing. The eldest and youngest had each a son, the former had Goman Sing and the latter Coman Sing, both now living, and who conduct the proportions allotted them of their father's zemindary conjunctly. The second Pahar Sing had one son now living by name Gudge Sing. Soubah Sing, grandson of Chuttar Sall had three sons, viz., Aman Sing, Hindooput and Khed Sing.

The eldest Aman Sing enjoyed his fathers zemindary unparticipated and undisturbed for several years until his brother Hindooput being a man of an active and enterprising disposition stirred up a faction in the zemindary and having gained over to his interest many powerful adherents waged war against him, whereby having affected his (Aman Sing's) death, who had no issue, he got possession of the Rajahship and zemindary without further opposition. He died about three months ago and left behind him two sons Sunate Sing and Anorat Sing the now contending parties.

Before I enter into the details of the pretensions upon which each grounds his claim to the zemindary it may be necessary to inform you that the Hindoo Rajahs enjoy a priviledge not allowed to people of inferior rank, that of marrying any number of wives.

Sunate Sing now about 22 years old is son from the wife of 2nd marriage and Anorat Sing now about 9 years old is son from the wife of first marriage. The former builds his right of succession to the zemindary upon prior birth, and the latter upon his being the son of the first wife, and upon his father's having before his death nominated him to the succession. I have enquired of several intelligent Hindoos in this place whether in such cases there was any certain rule to go by, but they could tell me nothing more decisive or satisfactory than that the person nominated during the life of the incumbent was esteemed the successor and generally assumed the right of inheritance, that however there was no law for it, neither was it customary to set the eldest son aside but when it so happened, the right of succession had usually been decided by fighting and consequently fell to the lot of the strongest party. Besides the above pleas made on behalf of the younger son, it is argued against the succession of the elder, that his father long before his death allotted to him for his subsistence a Jaghire amounting to about 2 lakhs annual revenue and which it is alleged ought to exclude him from all title to the zemindary whilst his brother Anorat Sing lives or has heirs of his own body. The ceremony of installation amongst the Rajahs of Bundelcund and other Chutterdari Rajahs, in disputed cases such as the present, is looked upon as a matter of the highest importance, each strive who shall be first in obtaining what they term the *teeka*, which is a mark made by one of their priests on the forehead exactly between the eyebrows with a particular sort of clay or paint, and which is first consecrated by an assemblage of the brahmins in presence of the friends and relations of the person who is to be installed, and who all having acknowledged his right and declared their allegiance, the brahmins chuse from amongst themselves one to administer the *teeka*, and to place him upon a seat which by the Hindoos and in the Shaster is called *Singasun*, which is in fact a wooden throne, and whereon they also place the images of their gods.

The guardians and adherents of Anorat Sing, of whom the principals are Beny Hazoory, Ram Roy, Chabby, Kipary Sing, Moonshi, servants in the family, fixed upon a day for his installation of which Sunate Sing having got intelligence assembled his friends and had himself proclaimed Rajah the day preceding. And Anorat Sing was as agreed upon proclaimed the day following. An occurance of this kind is with them an open declaration of war, in proof of which they have already come to blows and had one engagement in which Sunate Sing has been defeated but not so compleatly as to prevent all further contention. This victory may appear rather strange to you after telling you in my last that Sunat Sing had the most powerful support. The Rajahs Goman and Coman Sing and Balajee Govind the Mahrattoe, wish him to succeed, but not chusing to embroil themselves in the quarrels they stood neuter and I understand intend continuing so as it cannot effect their interests which becomes Rajah, and as they are resolved to acknowledge whoever gets the better. At the same time I learn they are mediating for an accommodation and seem now to think that Hindooput's will ought to be complied with, and that Sunate Sing should rest contended with his Jaghire. If this charge of sentiments is to be viewed in an interested light we may suppose as Anorat Sing is in possession of the family riches that they have been bribed to it and **if it is to be ascribed to political motives they are probably apprehensive least a foreign power should come to decide their quarrels and thereby enslave both themselves and the contending parties***. Whichsoever of these may be the case they are undoubtedly both calculated to preclude our interference **however I still think that by merely showing a good will towards the party whom the majority seem now disposed to favour some advantage might be derived to the Company if not pecuniary, in extending their political interests*.** If you are of the same opinion and will grant me your permission, I will enter into such a literary correspondence with Anorat Sing's party as, if not productive of good, I will venture to assure you shall never be the means of drawing the Company into trouble. And in case there should be any prospect of success, it will then be time enough for you to give what negotiations may appear practicable, your own sanction as well as to obtain them the authority of the Board.

3. Letter from F.G. to the Hon'ble W.Hastings, Esq., Benares, 22nd February 1777.

I have just had a visit from a dependent of Kaim Roy Chabby who has pointed out to me a mistake in the genealogical detail sent to you in my letter of yesterday. Hindooput was the youngest son of Soubah Sing and not the second. Khed Sing was ... kept in close confinement by Hindooput from the day he seized upon the Rajahship until his death. Since then he has been set at liberty but in order to obviate every chance of his becoming a rival in the zemindarship he is only permitted to ride in a palankeen and to have a few attendant servants. Anorat Sing has made an offer to divide zemindary with Sunate Sing but he has declined it, as the [territory he] proposes giving him is mostly waste and uncultivated land and because he will not also divide the family riches with ....It is expected that there will be another battle between them in a few days as both sides are making very formidable preparations.

15. TWO VIEWS OF INDIA'S WEAKNESS, WARREN HASTINGS AND C-IN-C SIR EYRE COOTE, 1779

B.L:Add. Ms: Warren Hastings Papers

(i) Bengal Presidency C-in-C. Sir Eyre Coote to Warren Hastings: 7.10.1779,13.10.1779

Replying to a letter of Hastings, Coote further observed 13.11.1779:

"If we were to differ as much in our political sentiments as we seem to do in our military ideas, we should probably be able to do little business together. Since I first knew this country, the natives have improved their military much beyond my expectations. Their infantry was once a despised rabble, but now they are chiefly attended to and in their mutual conflicts, gain the most decided advantages over their once preferred cavalry, who beheld them with as much contempt formerly as they now dread them; their artillery is still more improved. I have myself seen gun carriages with elevating screws made by themselves very little inferior to our own. Hyder Aly has corps of infantry disciplined after our mode and most respectable train to support them; for all this they must in great measure be indebted to those whom we have instructed. I therefore wish never again to see the Gollandauz in any form, or hear any more of them: however it is dangerous even in Europe to disband whole corps at once, and is always attended to with every possible precaution. I have therefore issued orders agreeable to the plan first communicated to you."

"It is not only my opinion but that of every able, and unbiassed officer I have conversed with upon the subject, that the establishing of black artillery must prove the first step to our ruin in this country, not to say a word, of the Company's positive orders to the contrary".

(ii) **Warren Hastings to Eyre Coote: 31.10.1779**

I differ much from you in the apprehension you express of their taking service with the country powers, and instructing the troops in the discipline and practice of that corps. The country powers have long been in the possession of much better instructors, of British sepoys trained to the management of the guns, of European artillery men and European officers. But hitherto they have profitted as little by the imitation of that corps as in the mimicry of our sepoys. In the former they have not attained even the art of constructing gun carriages, and the latter have nothing but their clothing and their name to distinguish them from the old rabble of Burgundasses, while the attempt in both instances can only entail upon them an useless expence and encumbers them with an unwieldy mass, by which they lose the only advantage which they before possessed over us, in the rapidity of their motions. The cause of these defects are to be traced in the manners of the people, and the habits of their governments, and are almost wholly foreign from the subject of a military speculation. I should scruple to hazard my opinion to you if I regard this in any other lights. I may err, but I am very decided in the persuasion that every attempt made by the chiefs of India to raise their infantry and artillery establishments to an equality with ours will but add to the advantages which we already possess over them, unless some powerful genius such as the world sees once in ten centuries shall suddenly make his appearance among it, with abilities to change the minds as well as the habits of the people, and the means to exert them, which I do not think likely to happen in this reign.

16. ON MARCH FROM MIDNAPORE SOUTHWARDS, N.B.EDMONSTONE TO W.A.EDMONSTONE

Camb : Add MS 7616: Corres of NBE (Extracts)

27.5.1788

(2)......the several zemindars have been directed to get us supplied in their districts with whatever we may want and we have always found the zemindars of the villages very zealous in procuring it. .....(4).. the servants and the camp followers are so insolently pressing to get their own things over that it is with the utmost difficulty we can get a boat for ourselves. Russell and I waited full half an hour in the sun at the Soan river (near Balasore) unable to get one, nor should we have till all the people had crossed, had not Doveton and Mr Binny come up who having authority over the sepoys procured one but even then it was by main force we prevented its being over-loaded. In consequence of this the Companies will henceforward be drawn up at the ghuat of a river to prevent this insolence and to suffer all our baggage to be crossed first. On occasion of the above as well (5) as at two or three other places on the same account our kitchen apparatus was retarded so much that we did not get dinner till near sunset....(8).. The servants have got (p 9) into the habit of packing and carrying my baggage and I have no trouble. I have had several attacks (?) for an increase of wages under the denomination of Khooraucky which would amount to about two rupees each man, but I have positively refused it and threatened to send back the first that repeats the demand, a step they are very much averse to, for they are afraid to return singly now that they have come so far. One of Kennaway's servants lagging behind was robbed in passing through Mohurbunge (near Ballasore) and it has had a very good effect for the fear of it prevents any from running away and makes them keep up with the baggage. Although there is not the least danger except in that district which being an independent zemindary the zemindar (10) is under no control, but we have industriously propagated apprehension amongst all our people.

19 June 1788 (camp of Chicacole)

No art and but little care is required to improve it (Chilka area) more, but as it is I think few scenes in England can equal it.

12 August 1788 (Hyderabad)

The inhabitants are very insolent which makes us the more averse to live in the town. In going to the Durbar the common servants elbowed and pushed us about. It would have been dangerous to have resented it but we longed to chastise their insolence. There are some very pretty rides around the town.

September 1789 (Hyderabad)

Perhaps there never was a court where so much dullness and insipidity reigned as does in this. The whole purpose of government seems to be an exaction of compliance with forms and ceremonies. No kind of public duty ever engages the Nizam's attention, and the minister is left to manage it wholly in his own way. In short such a set of contemptible fellows I never (p) met with. Even the Bengallis (whom you have such a respect for) do not exceed them in meanness falsehood and rascality. I understand however that all the Indian courts do not resemble this, which may be called Empire of dullness, meanness, hypocrisy, and dishonesty.

March 1797 (Lucknow)

Sir John tells me I am entitled to the repayment of all my extra charges so that my expences here will ultimately be reduced to a small sum. My servants are my principal charge. I thought it proper to have a pretty large retinue and I have consequently entertained 3 chobdars and 6 hircarrahs besides my own 3 who arrived three days ago. Other servants in proportion. I doubt if I can properly charge Government however with the whole expence of them, as they may not be considered as strictly necessary. But I shall settle that matter privately with Sir John Shore before I deliver in my accounts.

17. OUR GOVERNMENT CAN NEVER BE SECURE BY CONCILIATION - N.B. EDMONSTONE 27.3.1799

CAMB UNI: Correspondence of NB Edmonstone (presented 1962) NBE arrived in India in 1783 as a writer to Bengal. He seemed to have been a protegy of the Duke of Argyll. He was in Hyderabad with Kennaway from Aug 1788 to July 1790 and learnt Persian while there. He was a secretary to the Government in Bengal in the early 1800s. The above is from a bound volume of original letters addressed by him to his brother William who was also in Bengal. Most of the letters are from 1788-90, and 1797-99. Letter below dated 27 March 1799 (Madras: 22 pages, latter partly deals with Cherry affair). According to one letter Elliot was accompanied on his visit to England in 1775 by Meer Hudseen, and the latter later on wrote a book of these travels.

(p.18) Our Government never can be secured by conciliation. I have long thought and I am fully convinced that the idea of attaching the natives of this country by kindness, lenity, and a participation of rights is as much a chimera as the modern French philosophy and every step we take (and long have we been taking such) to approximate the natives to ourselves is dangerous to our existence. I will allow that the body of the low class of inhabitants are as well contented under our Government as they would be under another, but history and experience tells us that revolutions do not originate with *them*. They are engines in the hands of men who have views of their own and have capacity to use them. The great body of Mussulman from whom we have wrested the government and whom we now exclude from all situations of extensive trust and honour, will ever (p) harbour a wish to regain the supremacy. They hate us not only as *we* are usurpers but as *they* are bigots. Their religion will justify while their interest prompts attempts to destroy us. In this class too I reckon a very large proportion of Hindus. To conciliate enemies of this description is impracticable. We must controul them. We have been hitherto maintained in

a great degree by opinion. That opinion is daily losing ground; any one who compares the behaviour of the natives towards us at the present day, to what it was in former times let him say whether our ascendancy is in any degree of comparison with what it formerly was. When we lose that ascendancy we lose our stability and under the present system there is no check to conspiracy. One principal remedy is the establishment of a better police, in its most extended sense - by which I mean effectual (p) and general watchfulness over the conduct of all under our immediate controul. The reform should begin in all our principal cities and be extended as may be. We daily see persons going about the streets of Calcutta (and it is so in a greater degree up the country) with considerable bodies of armed men while we go singly and unarmed. We pay no sort of regard to what manner of people come and go, nor what their occupations and their conduct are. A few men combined, might unregarded by us arm a rabble in a week that should cut all our throats. It is not easy to conceive a plan supported by foreign partisans as well as internal accomplices that might create a general insurrection? Is there not an excessive degree of folly in suffering persons whom we *ought* to consider as our unwitting subjects to (p) parade our streets in a condition to rise upon us without the fear of resistance?, to allow the multitude of men and arms while the few who govern are naked and defenceless. This reflection when applied to Vasir Ali (?) is particularly striking after what has passed and the justice of it is further exemplified by the annual or rather daily practice of allowing large bodies of armed men to come to Benares and other places within our dominions under the plea of pilgrimages. The uses that might be made of this supineness on our part are sufficiently obvious, and urgently call for remedy. I am happy to know that the subject has engaged Lord Mornington's attention. He has indeed desired me to draw up a plan for the purpose and I have for some time past been revolving the subject in (p) mind with that view.

18. CONSUMPTION DETAILS OF FAMILIES OF DIFFERENT INCOMES IN BELLARY , 1846

Collector, Bellary to Board of Revenue on the Basis of Veesabuddy by Munro: 18.6.1846 (MRO: BRP: Vol. 2030: Pro:13.7.1846, Nos. 12-3, pp. 9031-47, A.Mellor; Extract)

Estimate showing the name and quantity of articles consumed for a year by the population in the Bellary Division of the Ceded Districts by the former Collector Colonel Thomas Munro in Fasli 1216

Articles	Consumption of the family of the 1st class of 6 person Quantity	1st class value (Rs.)	Consumption of the family of the 2d classof 6 person Quantity	2nd class value (Rs .)	Consumption of the family of the 3rd class of 6 person quantity	3rd.class value (Rs .)
Gain						
Grain Of Sort	90 seers p.m.@ 3 seer per day Rs.4-6-0	52-8-0	90 seers p.m. @ 3 seers per day:Rs. 2-3-0	26-4-0	90 seers p.m. @ 3 seers per day: Rs. 2-3-0	26-4-0
Pulse	15 seers p.m. @ 1/2 seer per day Rs. 1-1-6	13-2-0	7 1/2 seers p.m . @1/4 seer per day Rs. 0-8-9	6-9-0	5 5/8 seers p.m. @ 3/16 seers p.d.	4-14-19
Firewood, vegetables		7-4-8		3-10-0		2-11-9
		72-14-8		**36-7-0**		**33-14-6**

Other Provisions

Beetle nuts	19 1/2 seers p.a	2-3-0	9 3/4 seers p.a.	1-1-7	7 1/4 seers p.a.	0-13-2
Jaggery	1 md & 36 seers p.a.	1-10-3	1/2 md and 6 seers p.a.	0-8-10	5/8 md p.a.	0-9-10
Ghee	1/2md & 10 1/2 seers p.a.	2-8-3	9 1/2 seers p.a.	0-11-0	8 3/4 seers p.a	0-15-1
Tobacco	3/4 md & 6 seers p.a.	0-10-6	1/4 md & 9 seers p.a.	0-7-0	14 1/16 seers p.a.	0-3-11
Turmeric	1/4 md. p.a.	0-5-3	4 4/3 seers p.a.	0-1-9	4 1/2 seers p.a.	0-2-0
Betel leaves	9,600 in number p.a.	0-10-6	4,800 p.a.	0-5-4	3,600 p.a.	0-3-11
Oils of Sorts	3/4 md p.a.	1-5-0	1/4 md. p.a.	0-7-1	1/4 md & 1/2 seer p.a.	0-7-11
Chillies	1/4 md p.a.	0-7-0	1/4 md p.a.	0-7-0	4 1/2 seer p.a.	0-2-8
Salt	1/2 md & 6 seers p.a	0-14-0	1/4 md & 3 seers p.a.	0-7-0	11 seers p.a.	0-5-3
Tamarind	1 1/4 md p.a.	0-5-10	1/2 md & 6 seers p.a.	0-3-6	3 3/4 seers p.a.	0-2-2
Garlic	6 seers p.a.	0-1-9	4 1/2 seers p.a.	0-1-4	2 1/4 seers p.a.	0-0-8
Onions	1/2 md & 6 seers p.a.	0-3-6	1/4 md & 3 seers p.a.	0-1-9	11 1/4 seers p.a.	0-1-4

Articles	ption of a family of the 1st 6 persons (Quantity)	1st class Value (Rs.)	Consumption of a family of the 2nd class of 6 persons (Quantity)	2nd Class Value (Rs.)	Consumption of a family of the 3rd class of 6 persons (Quantity)	3rd Clas Value (Rs.)
Gingelly Oil seeds		0-10-6	9 seers p.a.	0-2-2	3/8 seers p.a.	0-3-11
Cummin seeds	6 seers p.a.	0-2-8	3/4 seers p.a.	0-0-5	2 1/4 seers p.a.	0-0-11
Cocoanuts	6 in number p.a.	0-1-9	3 in number p.a.	0-0-11	2 p.a.	0-0-7
Dry cocoanuts	1/4 md p.a.	0-7-0	6 seers p.a.	0-3-6	4 1/2 seers p.a.	0-2-8
Curry stuff		1-0-7		0-7-0		0-6-3
Drugs and medicines		0-14-0		0-5-10		0-5-3
		14-9-4		**6-3-0**		**5-7-6**
Cloths						
Piece Goods		10-8-0		5-4-0		2-10-0
Woollen Cumblies		5-4-0		7-0-0		2-10-0
		15-12-0		**12-4-0**		**5-4-0**
Grand Total for Each Family		**103-4-0**		**54-14-0**		**44-10-0**
Average per each individual		**17-3-4**		**9-2-4**		**7-7-0**

Bellary Collector's Office, 18 June 1846 **A. Mellor, Collector**

19. INDIA'S WEAKNESS LAY IN IT'S POOR MILITARY ORGANISATION - MEMOIR RELATIVE TO INDIA GEO C BRAITHWAITE BOUGHTON: c.1806

Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, Durham: Papers of II Earl Grey (1764-1845, earlier known as Viscount Howick, Prime Minister 1830-4):Box 36/file1/1: from Geo C Braithwaite Boughton, dated Oct 25, 1806. Addressed to Lord Howick.)[1]

In addition to the observations printed in the *Considerations Relative to India,*[2] it is only necessary to state one solitary question, to demonstrate the inconsistency in which our different Governments have involved themselves by entertaining any apprehension from the result of the Princes of India having adopted the European system of war. *The question naturally is: "If we in Europe think it necessary to employ thirty gentlemen of education to the superintendence of one battalion of a thousand men in such regular gradation of experience that each inferior officer is equal to supply the place of his immediate superior what can be expected from thirty thousand men among whom are only thinly scattered sixteen officers of very doubtful education and experience ?"Yet such was the real composition of the armies in Hindustan which have been represented as so formidable and the facts of our conquests all corroborate this assertion because whenever the enemy have ventured to engage notwithstanding their superiority in number they have been universally defeated with the loss of an artillery infinitely superior to the one opposed by us: and as more than two thirds of our armies in India are composed of the native soldier (p.2) no great consideration is to be paid to the superior valor of Europeans: if such in India was ever founded in truth ?* At the same time we must admit that similar defects under the same circumstances of numerical superiority against us, could not be won by our armies against the worst troops of Europe. And why, but because the officers of all the European states are more upon a par than those of the native princes are with us. Such being the fact what have

the enemy acquired by their introduction of European tactics? *but to contend with us at the same weapons with inferior means*, Nevertheless the universal opinion of our Government have been adverse to this system, and by way of a more remarkable inconsistency, have always agreed that the moment the European officers were taken from the sepoy army, it became a nullity. Yet it was impossible that the armies of the native princes could be sufficiently officered by Europeans, even to the degree of ten officers to a hundred of ours. This mode of reasoning on the part of our Government has in my mind been productive of all the *irritation* now existing in the minds of the people of India. As, if we had yielded to the inclination manifested by them to receive British officers into their service, those officers would have enjoyed (p.3) the greatest influence in the policy of India, with the smallest expence to us, and would in themselves without the sometimes *difficult interference* of Government, have provided the surest barrier against either the introduction of French officers or French principles.

And as a proof of this, in the year 1791 when I accompanied the Nizam's son with 10,000 horse to join Lord Cornwallis, a fine opportunity offered for me to enter the Nizam's service, where there was already a Frenchman by the name of Raymond commanding 2000 men and hoisting in the army of our allies the tri-colour flag.

But having understood that even Lord Cornwallis entertained the same apprehensions relative to the policy of introducing European tactics I declined the advantageous prospect. And shortly afterwards the two battalions of Raymond increased to 14,000 men, and the subsequent intrigues of that officer with the Nizam's family alarmed the sovereign, and it has been reported that poison was administered to Raymond. However he came to the sea coast for his health and died. Meanwhile the Nizam's minister threw difficulties in the payment of the troops, which as is usual in that country, directed the anger of the troops to their own officers (p.4) who were immediately arrested by their own soldiers in

[1] A printed copy, marked "not published" on the title page, of the "CONSIDERATIONS" is available in the British Museum, catalogued under `Boughton,Sir George Charles Braithwaite; Bart', dated 1803, 42 pages.
[1] not published

which *formidable state*, our detachment found them after its arrival by invitation of the court of Hyderabad, which Government satisfying the soldiery by the payment of their arrears. The chief difficulty on our part was to preserve the lives of a few French officers, the most part of whom had been private soldiers, as Raymond himself had been. If there has been any wonderful talents employed in over-turning the French influence in the Dekkan, it must on the other hand be admitted that the French influence would either never have existed, or very soon have been done away had *the 12,000 men been raised* by British officers, instead of Raymond being allowed to attach them to his two battalions; because the Nizam was thus debarred having any officers but French, and yet he was requested to have an army to join us in opposing Tippoo- and I had the honour of marching with Monseiur Raymond and as a proof that the subsequent Government under Marquis Wellesley concurred somewhat in this opinion. I recommended an officer of the 13th Foot to my father, then commanding in chief the army at Madras. The gentleman's name was (p.5) Samson and by the interference of the *British Government* he obtained a brigade in the Nizam's service where he shortly afterwards died. And the celebrated General De Boigne formerly in the *Company's service*, stipulated with old Scindiah, that he never was to be employed against the British forces, yet under such a stipulation, Scindiah granted to him, the absolute jurisdiction of a territory equal to the maintenance of 30,000. And his successor the present Scindiah proposed to De Boigne to return to Hindostan upon the same terms. I saw *the letter* in which the prince said, till he received De Boigne's answer, the army would be kept in brigades without the nomination of a commanding in chief, that the villages allotted to De Boigne in jagheer should remain, and his pay had been regularly transmitted to General Martine his agent at Lucknow; and that all the authorities appointed by De Boigne for the collection for the revenue had remained uninterrupted in their functions and had received every assistance from Scindiah as sovereign. About the same period General Perron wrote to De Boigne, saying he had acquired as much money, as he knew what to do with, and he wished to have opportunity of retiring with honour; (p.6) that his health was declining, and that he could not place much reliance on the dispositions of Scindiah towards himself. There certainly does not appear in this correspondence, much hostility in Scindiah towards us, or much ambition in the General. Though the subsequent conduct of Scindiah towards Perron, fully ascertains the truth of the impression his conduct had stamped on Perron' s mind as prior to the latter coming over to the British Government he had been

superceded by Scindiah's having appointed a native called Umbagee to the Soubahdarry of Hindostan, from whose impeccable hatred, Perron had to apprehend the loss of his property if not his life. But if, as has been represented, the reverse had really been the case, and that *Perron* either through fear, or ambition was driven to rebellion, in what manner could such a contest have operated in prejudice to the British interests? Even if the Peishwah, Holkar, and Boonslah had taken their share in the discord, each indirectly contending either to preserve, or obtain the chief influence in the Mahratta states, instead of their all uniting, except the Peishwah and Perron, against the British interests it seems extraordinary that a union of these *and pirates*, should be desired; yet that seems to have been the result (p.7) of the war against them. And it is no less extraordinary that in a publication intended to set forth the policy of the war, entitled *The Vindication of The Justice and Policy* of these measures, the following description of Poonah is given:

"It is the destructive feature of the Mahratta Government, that the Empire always considers itself, in a predatory or vindictive hostility; to fraud and violence is the worship paid at *Poonah*" meaning merely, the capital, of *our faithful and loving friend* the *Peishwah*, whom we have thus endeavoured to reconcile with his *brother lambs* Scindiah and Holkar.

Now to a plain man like me, the attempt to consolidate such a species of Government as the one described in the chapter on Poonah, as the means of securing a continuance of peace, appears not very unlike, reducing all the Barbary states, to a system of perpetual friendship in order to protect the commerce of the Mediterranean. It is also reasonable to enquire here, what probability there is (that such warlike and haughty chieftains, united into a confederacy of vindictive hostility, and whose rebellion forced the Moghul Emperor to grant them the *chout* or the collection of a fourth part of the revenue of the empire for their military services) should long submit to the disgrace of being shown to their soldiers, surrounded by a British guard (p.8) stiled subsidiary force, otherwise interdicted from employing Europeans in their service. No treaty so repulsive to human nature can in my mind be durable, being destitute of refinement and every way at variance with the usages of Asia, which has universally employed the refined policy of confiding in the full assistance of minor states unable to contend with the greater power, preserving to those princes the full jurisdiction and dignity over their subjects, with all rights of sovereignty, in which sense many provinces of the Moghul Empire acknowledged the supremacy of the sovereign, though *his troops* had *never entered* their territory. And many of these states, could bring from thirty to fifty thousand horse into the field. And even when the effeminacy of the Moghul emperors and their feeble administration brought on rebellion *among their own* officers the throne was a long while suspended by the exertions of its Hindoo tributaries against the *Mahommedan officers* in revolt. Thus even when the present *emperor Shah Allum* was reduced to the single province of Allahabad he was joined in these desperate fortunes by the Hindoo rajahs, *Bulwan Sing* of Budgepoor, and Bulbidder Raja of Amati and many others, to the amount of sixty thousand men (p.9) - while Suja ul Dowlat, who by the treason of his father Seifdon Jung, had become independent, refused his sovereign all assistance, though in relation to Shah Allum, he was in the same state of duty, as the viceroy of Ireland is to the king of Great Britain. In short it is manifested throughout the Moghul history, that the object of a despotic prince is always the preservation of his dignity at home however small the circle, and when that is carefully and confidentially attended to, he will serve his superior with great zeal and alacrity, as the Rajahpoot princes, (since plundered by the Mahrattas) have frequently bled in the emperor's service and acquired great distinction in the imperial armies, and did not scruple to quit their thrones to mount guard over the emperor.

But we frequently fall into error by bending every thing to the usages of Europe, and from this view of our situation frequently attribute strength to our weakest parts and weakness to our strongest. In the _____________ imagination that a few subsidiary troops, are a greater check upon a prince, than the *demonstration of confidence* and *a powerful army* ready to pour upon him in case he swerves from the confidence granted (p.10) and falsely complaining of the craft and treachery of Asiatics, we think no door safe, if we have not the key hung at our belt with the blustering air of a gaoler. The Asiatics however prove themselves of a less suspicious character, by confiding to the master the key of his own house, and yet that master and his household esteem them amongst the most confidential servants. As the character of a government in Asia like that of a landlord in England has its due weight and the family who fix a just rent, and continue that justice, may have tenants at will, who vote with their landlord, and think themselves as secure as their neighbours who have leases and thus in India he might be more secure of the service of minor states, by leaving the sovereigns in their full divinity and jurisdiction without a subsidiary force whose appearance is indeed sufficient to debase and mortify the prince without being sufficiently numerous to defend itself if seriously attacked. So that in the sudden commencement of hostility a part of your force might be cut off (p.11) whereas on the other hand an alliance offensive and defensive with a minor state, that state contributing handsomely for your protection, leaves the prince in the full enjoyment of his own dignity, and crushes rebellion in his own country from the dread of your assistance; And therefore renders it eligible to him, particularly as the princes of India are situated, *nominally absolute*, but surrounded by a powerful military aristocracy, towards the leaders of whom the smallest attention on the part of the British Government, a civil message, a letter addressed with the intention of being intercepted, fills the mind of the prince with just alarm. On the other hand a firm and confidential alliance establishes the authority of the prince, as the intrigues and cabals of his officers however dangerous at home, are early smothered and kept down by British interference on whom they can have no operation. And as the sovereigns of these countries though in some view despotic, are themselves the slaves of custom, and prejudice, to the degree that even among the Mahrattas the lowest soldier venting his just demand, may challenge the prince to the *Dherna* that is to try the justice of the cause by (p.12)mutual fasting, and if the prince can not hold the trial he must pay the money. It is necessary to mingle with the natives and observe their unalterable prejudices, and bait your hooks accordingly, and guide the fish with a silken thread, more durable than massy chains of iron. From a want of this wise examination into their system of government, their customs and prejudices,which *being invariable* leaves them like a bowl whose movements are directed by a known bias, we frequently attribute effects to wrong causes; as once the Government of Madras were surprised at the steady firmness with which the Nabob *Omdit ul Omrah* resisted giving up the jurisdiction of his country and accepting a greater

annual income, than he ever could receive from his own jurisdiction, a circumstance so contrary to his natural pliability of temper, love of pleasure, and detestation of business, that his refusal made him a new man in the eyes of the British Government. Nevertheless it was still true, that what he so strongly refused, he had personally little objection to grant. But the nobility, gentry,and yeomanry *as they would be stiled here*, saw that by this prince's acquiescence, they would be rendered cyphers and beggars. Because they had truly (p.13) neither rank, authority, or property, but what arose from offices of which this concession on the part of their prince would have deprived them. In this extremity they pointed to their daggers, from which the Nabob's firmness arose. In a subsequent struggle for this point, the British Government surrounded the palace with a military (force), and were able to appoint what terms they pleased. Because the same nobility saw the *inclination* of a superior power publicly *avowed* and that *intimidation* and *resistance* were equally vain! Yet had the British Government deposed the Nabob and appointed *Seijeut Shite* Nabob of the Carnatic with injunction to govern according to the customs of the country it would have been seen by the zeal and obedience manifested to *Seijeut Shih*. That it was not the personal loss of the prince, they deplored but the dignities and emoluments arising to themselves from the existence of his Government. Although this arrangement may not in all its extent be applicable to the ancient Hindoo princes, yet it applies to the greater part of India governed by usurpers, to the people of which countries it would(p.14) be little to change the sovereign, but very grievous to change the form of government.

And in considering Asiatic governments we must entirely do away the idea sometimes realised in Europe, that what is lost by offending the aristocracy is gained by winning the favour of democracy. Because in India, the aristocracy are the military casts and the democracy harmless merchants and cultivators. Impressed with the truth of these sentiments, it appears to me that if the Government of India is to be secured upon a permanent and productive basis, we should renounce the vain attempt to wash the *black white*, and embrace with a conciliatory spirit the genius of Asia, who has long given shelter to a warlike aristocracy, whom an accession of territory must reduce to despair. And by manifesting this spirit of conciliation to the unchangeable prejudices of religion and custom, we might preserve a preponderating influence, to that degree, that instead of this *historic people*, being eager to join the French, or any standard which may insure their existence, (p.15) feeling their existence to be preserved, they would be found gallantly fighting our battles, and similar effects were already produced from similar causes; as where a like confidence existed between the sovereigns of Asia and the Roman Republic, notwithstanding the frequent extortion and mal-administration of the Roman Pro-consuls over the provinces immediately under their jurisdiction yet in the *tributary states* we find *a great attachment* to the Roman cause. And after the Roman armies had been defeated by the Parthians (our Mahrattahs) and that upon a second and unexpected irruption of those hordes, when the remains of the Roman legions were in a doubtful and perilous state the *tributary kings Deioteres*, and *Aribazens* by *forced marches*, hastened to join their armies to the *desponding legions of Rome* and Cicero received the thanks of the Senate for the wisdom of his *conciliatory*

And if we examine carefully into the history of India, we shall find that the down fall of the greater chieftains has not arisen from the refractory disposition of their vassals (p.16) but from the unjust *deviation of these chieftains from the original relationship between themselves* and their vassals. Their wavering and fraudulent conduct in exacting additional demands under various nefarious pretexts, such as that the increasing prosperity of the tributary country, particularly the fertility of the present year's crop, were causes in themselves sufficient to do away former stipulations. But would not such a conduct of landlords in England have produced disaffected tenants ?

Thus when the Nabob of Arcot found himself embarrassed by the sacrifices he had made to support his European influence his only remedy was unjust demands upon his tributaries, such as the Polygars, a people hitherto unconquered by any Asiatic power, certainly *never by that of the Nabob*. Yet in the year *1790* he applied to the Governor of Madras, Mr. Holland to inforce his unjust demands, which being granted a military force was sent against the *Murduls* chieftains of the southern Polygars, composing which detachment of troops was the 72nd Regiment. These Polygars who have since been represented as savages, displayed upon that occasion a magnanimity and chivalry, unknown in Europe. (p.17) They determined if reduced to the *sad necessity* to repel *force by force*, but

would never consider the *British troops* as their enemies, and with these sentiments very imprudently acted only on the defensive, and with an ill-timed generousity furnished the British troops with provisions, without which they might have been obliged to retreat. Their prince in going his rounds fell incautiously upon some advanced sentries of sepoys, who fired at him but fortunately missed him. His attendants instantly meditated the death of the sepoys, but the prince interfered and ordered them to return in safety to their own camp. The fortress which the prince defended with so much gallantry was finally taken by the treachery of a French Officer in his service. Peace was concluded, and the British officers were entertained with the most marked respect and hospitality. The prince himself, like another *Patrocles* carving with his falchion the venison and distributing it to his guests. *Such an employment of the British troops was severely censured by Marquis Cornwallis in a letter to the Government of Madras and forbidden for the future (p.18)* and in order to prevent future disappointment...

...And in respect to the Nabob of Arcot, he certainly could not make over to the English an estate with a better title than he had himself to it. I pay to the officers of Government the land tax of my estate. But I do not permit them (p.19) to receive my rents, or regulate my farms, or to send commissioners to reside upon my estate, and interfere between me and my tenants, and by these means so derange my affairs, that perhaps another year I am really not able to pay the land tax. But if I did admit such proceedings, and was afterwards tired of them I should still hope not to be considered as a subject in rebellion.

Thus Arcobeyeris, Deioterius, Elphy Bey, the Rajahs, Polygars and all the chieftains of India from time immemorial have always had the good sense to understand their own situation and to weigh equally what was due to themselves and the superior power by whose protection they received additional security. And if their policy is not complicated, it is the more easily understood, when it is comprehended? We shall not believe that any of them will long submit, to a continual *breach of contract*,or a *manifest disregard* of the *station in which they were born and educated*. We may more reasonably expect that the warrior casts of India will either die bravely by our side or in opposition to our measures, as *our counsels are directed*. (p.20) And if there is any truth in the hasty sketch I have given of the customs and institutions of Asia, and of their unchangeable nature, it will appear that the circumstances of the *sovereigns themselves* were far *from absolute in practice*, though so in theory.

And that from the general improvident, treacherous and faulty conduct of their government, the power of the greatest among them was no ways formidable to us, unless by an equal misconduct in ourselves we had administered to his strength. Because from the political situation of those sovereigns, and their misconduct which daily destroyed the confidence of those who were really and *literally termed in Asia the pillars of their power*, that is the military casts. We had always in our option to spread discord round the court of the unjust ruler and make a new sovereign without any detriment to the *patrician* or *equestrian* order. And tho *Hyder Ally* could neither *write* or *read* he had *sufficient policy* to discover where the shoe pinched. He therefore *attacked the sovereign, maintained an interest in his court*, and turned only *a few out of office*, when he had defeated the *sovereign*. And by these means he established in a short time an extensive and *permanent dominion*, which *his son Tippoo lost* by having recourse to *European tactics*, and *policy*.(p.21) He had however the satisfaction while he did live, to know that he was the only absolute sovereign in Asia, a circumstance that can now be only accorded to the Governor General of India. And it seems he felt this, as in reply to the admonitions of his people, Tippoo replied I had rather live one day like a tyger than a thousand years as a lamb.

And when we took *his place* and demonstrated in all our conquests, (except a slight exception in favour of the ancient sovereigns of his country) the *cupidity* of *absolute dominion* to the *detriment of the fighting casts in a ten-fold degree* then we concentrated their attachment to the government of their own sovereigns as preferable to the absolute government of Europe. And as Julius Ceaser in conquering the liberties of Rome was opposed by the senate and equestrian order so we found no difficulty in procuring alliances against Tippoo, but after *his defeat in adopting his measures*, we leagued all over India the *patrician* and *equestrians* against us, that is the military classes in defence of their own rights and liberties...

(p.23)... *The soldier being worthy of his hire* which Europe will come to know ere long. The common people of India, that is the rich merchants, lower tradesmen, mechanics, and labourers are mere cyphers made over from one troop of horse to another having neither heart or means to defend themselves and being incapable from their religious prejudices of being made soldiers as the Quakers of Europe are.

(p.24)...And in regard to the great mass of people, the *ryots* or peasentry there does not appear to me any foundation for thinking their situation ameliorated under our government as under the Moghul emperors they enjoyed a tacit right to the possession of their fathers nearly similar (if we must have recourse to comparison as the means of explanation) to that of our copy-holders. And the zemindars, or collectors of the revenue belonging to the Mogul emperors, who in the decline of the empire farmed the rent of districts or in its powerful administration received a salary or a proportionable number of villages according to the percentage of the district, *had not* the *power* of augmenting their demand upon the ryot or peasant; or of dismissing him from his possession unless his conduct was *proved* to be infamous. If the decline of the Moghul empire furnished to its usurpers, both the means and necessity, of a different conduct, there was not the same necessity, or *ought not to have been* on the part of the British Government...

(p.26) I shall after begging to be excused for this digression, return to the more urgent military concern...

(p.32)...It has been observed by a celebrated historian of India, that the policy adopted in causing the native officer to rise from the ranks deterred men of influence and family from entering our service, and that consequently such officers are our creatures, and their fidelity further preserved by the European troops, and the natives finding our service preferable to the fraudulent treatment they were accustomed to experience from their own princes. (p.33) This observation appears to me entitled to greater confidence at the period when it was written, than at present. And in respect to the influence of *birth* and *wealth*, they are less companions in India than in any country in the world. There is no influence of birth among the natives, but what proceeds from cast. And as the profession of arms in all its ranks, is that of a superior cast, it may frequently occur that the private soldier in India is not only superior in birth to many of his officers, but even to his sovereign, with whom as with Scindiah many of the soldiers would not condescend to dine; or with Hyder, or Tipoo. And in our service difficulties have arisen from the soldier under arms for the sake of subordination being required to salute his officers, which officers from the ettiquette of the country should salute the soldier in the street from the superior birth of the latter. In addition to these circumstances, the relative situation of the country being no longer the same, the sentiments of the people change with them, as from the *like necessity as the princes of Europe those of India* have paid *more attention to their military department* and have ceased to defraud the soldier by such *glaring non compliance with his contract*....

(p.39)...I do not see the impossibility of the Hindoos joining this *service* since they embarked for Egypt. Thus this measure would be *providing for a part of the military population of India*, in the defence of your other colonies...

(p.42)...If something of this nature is adopted *I shall be very happy to command the Moghul force*. The more the military classes are employed, the less occasion will there be for the same quantity of Europeans; a great territory however particularly in India demands a great army...

October 25,1806

Henwel, Middlesex. Geo C.Braithewaite Boughton

P.S. If any thing here said, should incline you to have a copy taken of the suggestions, you *are very welcome*; only I request to have the original returned to me, it having been extracted from part of a more voluminous composition the which I am desirous to compare with the one now submitted to your perusal.

To

The Right Hon'ble Lord Howick G.C.B.
Boughton

20.LOSS OF FREEDOM DEGRADES AND IMPOVERISHES THE WHOLE PEOPLE ON INDIANS NEEDING SOME TERRITORY TO EXPRESS VALOUR

-THOMAS MUNRO TO EARL MOIRA : 12.8.1817

IOR : MSS.Eur E 184/E225

The power of Scindia, as well as of Holkar's Government has so much declined since that period that it is scarcely credible that either Scindia or Meerkhan would venture to oppose by force any measure for the suppression of the Pindarries. But it is still possible that they might act otherwise, for there is sometimes a kind of infatuation about Indian Chiefs who have lost a part of their Dominions which tempts them risk the rest in a contest which they know to be hopeless.

There are many weighty objections to the employment of a subsidiary force. It has a natural tendency to render the Government of every country in which it exists, weak and oppressive, to extinguish all honourable spirit among the higher classes of society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people*. The usual remedy of a bad Government in India is a quiet revolution in the Palace, or a violent one by rebellion, or foreign conquests. But the presence of a British force cuts off every chance of remedy by supporting the Prince on the Throne against every foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him insolvent by teaching him to trust strangers for his security, and cruel and avaricious by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects. **Wherever the subsidiary system is introduced unless the reigning prince be a man of great abilities, the country will soon bear the marks of it in decaying villages and decreasing population. This has long been observed in the dominions of the Peshwah and the Nizam and is now beginning to be seen in Mysore*.** The talents of Purniah while he acted as Diwan saved that country from the usual effects of the system, but the Rajah is likely to let them have their full operation.

The observation of More Dixit in speaking of the late Treaty to Major Ford that no native power could from its habits conduct itself with such a strict fidelity as we seemed to demand, is perfectly just. This very Peshwah will probably again commit a breach of the alliance. The Nizam will do the same and the same consequence, a further reduction of their power for our own safety must again follow even if the Prince himself were disposed to adhere rigidly to the alliance. **There will always be some among his principal officers who will urge him to break it as long as there remains in the country any high minded independence which seeks to throw off the control of the strangers. Such counsellors will be found. I have a better opinion of the natives of India than to think that this spirit will ever be completely extinguished, and I can, therefore, have no doubt that the subsidiary system must everywhere run its full course and destroy every Government which it undertakes to protect*.**

One effect of such a conquest would be that the Indian army having no longer any warlike neighbours to combat would gradually lose its military habits, and discipline and that the native troops would have leisure to feel their own strength and for want of other employment to turn it against their European Masters. But even if we could be secured against every internal convulsion, and could retain the country quietly in subjection, I doubt much if the condition of the people would be better than under their native Princes. The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no native power enjoy. Its law and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in those states. But these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence, of national character, and of whatever renders a people respectable. **The natives of the British Province may without fear pursue their different occupations, as traders, manufacturers, or husbandmen and enjoy the fruit of their labours in tranquility but none of them can aspire to anything beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace - none of them can look forward to any share in the Legislative or Civil or military Government of their country*.** It is from men who either hold or are eligible to public office that native take their character; where no such men exist there can be no energy in any other class of the community. The effect of the state of things is observable in all the British provinces whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India. No elevation of character can be expected among men who in the

military line cannot attain to any rank above that of Subedar, where he is as much below an Ensign as an Ensign is below the Commander in Chief and who in the Civil Revenue Office, in which he may by corrupt means make up for his slender salary. **The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British armies would be in place of raising to debase the whole people. There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share in the Government of their country as in British India.**

Among all the disorders of the native states the field is open for every man to raise himself and hence among them there is a spirit of emulation, of restless enterprise and independence far preferable to the servility of our Indian subjects*. The existence of independent native states is also useful in drawing off the turbulent and disaffected among our native troops. Many of them, men belonging to the Madras army, formerly sought service in Mysore.

If the British Government is not favourable to the improvement of the Indian character, that of its control through a subsidiary force is still less so.

21. NARRATIVE OF EUROPEAN CONQUESTS AND DOMINANCE IN INDIA 1500-1818

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland: Walker of Bowland papers: Alexander Walker to B.S. Jones (Officer Board of Control)

Bowland

31 January 1818

My dear Sir

The relaxations of Christmas are at last over and I may now sit down without the fear of interruption to reply to the important query contained in your letter of the 5th ultimo. I shall endeavour to acquit myself of my promise by delivering my sentiments with freedom and candour; but the subject is of the most momentous nature and surrounded by uncommon difficulties. The conflicting passions of ambition and a violent collision of public with private interests, which must be deeply affected by the decision of the question, are powerful impediments against an impartial judgement. It would be impossible for the mere effort of argument and reason to reconcile so many clashing views. Such an attempt would be hopeless, and I shall be satisfied if I can convince you - that it is practicable to fix a limit to our territorial dominion in India.

The acquisition to Britain of territory in India was not an object which entered at all into the contemplation of the early adventurers. The views of the British Government differed in this respect from those of the nations who first followed the newly discovered tract by the Cape of Good Hope. The armaments of the Portuguese were fitted out by an active and warlike monarch, who united the ambition of conquest, with the desire of extending the commerce of his country. The Portuguese navigators shared with the Spaniards the habit of taking possession, in the name of their sovereign, of

every lately discovered territory. The countries (p.2) which they visited in the Eastern quarter of the world were too populous, powerful and regularly governed, to afford any pretence for the exercise of such a lawless conduct. The impression however derived from former habits had doubtless a great share in prompting that spirit of daring aggression, which characterized the proceedings of the Portuguese in India.

The Dutch were a nation of habits more purely mercantile; but the hopes of a lucrative commerce were not the sole motive that led them to venture into the Indian seas. The very hostile relations which subsisted between them and Philip 2nd, then master of Portugal, made them feel that a footing in those regions could only be maintained by force of arms. They made it therefore from the first an object to acquire fortified settlements. Their ambitious and distrustful policy would admit no rivals. The progress of the Dutch was marked by every kind of secret and open violence, against whoever attempted to share with them advantages, which they wished to render exclusively their own.

From the above causes both those nations had frequent recourse to arms and both sought to acquire an influence in the Political affairs of India. Their dominion however was confined to the sea coast and to peninsular situations. Neither the Portuguese, nor the Dutch, obtained the possession of any extensive tract of territory in the interior of the country; but they acquired great opulence, splendour and power.

Their ambition was amply gratified with overawing the sovereigns of India, with directing their councils and controuling their commerce; while their chief pecuniary advantages were derived from trade and piracy. In pursuing this career those nations acquired a (p.3) great political preponderance in India; but they were never(?) the objects among the native powers of hatred, distrust and jealousy. They were almost continually in a state of war; their finances became embarrassed and their commerce declined. This happened during a magnificient period of their government and successful military achievement.

The early intercourse of England with India was guided by different principles. It was sanctioned by the Government but did not owe its origin to this source. The concern was private and the public took no share in its management. The first intercourse with India was entirely the work of an association of mercantile adventurers who had trade and profit alone in view. If the vessels were armed, such a precaution was rendered absolutely necessary, by the uncertain encounters of a long voyage, by the habits of piracy which were indulged in by almost every European nation who at that time frequented the Indian seas, and by the prevalence of the same habit among the maritime nations of Asia. At the period in question also we were at open war with Portugal whose power prevailed throughout the

whole course of the navigation which led to these new sources of wealth and aggrandisement. The letter of Queen Elizabeth to the different sovereigns of India, sent out with the first fleet, merely entreats that her subjects may be allowed to do business in their ports, and to leave a few factors, who may learn the language, and the mode of conducting trade; but does not express any wish for permission to erect fortifications. In this pacific and dependent state (p.4) was the trade for a short time conducted. It was soon found however, that such a situation gave rise to many inconveniences. Although the sovereigns of India were every where disposed to receive Europeans with cordiality, and to facilitate their commercial operations; yet the fluctuating state of their power, the caprices to which they were liable, and the misrepresentations which could easily be made to them, rendered the protection which they afforded by no means effectual. Even where the prince was well disposed, many opportunities of plunder and imposition, were within the reach of his inferior and distant agents, who seldom scrupled to employ them. A still more urgent danger, and which could be stated without reserve to the native governments, arose from the enmity of other European nations, who all sought with the most eager hostility, to extirpate every rival establishment.

Upon these principles, the agents of the Company early began their applications to the different governments of India, for leave to fortify their factories, and we do not find, that any difficulty was in general experienced. It may be observed indeed, that the behaviour of the Indian states, towards mercantile adventurers from all the European nations, was uniformly friendly and encouraging. The rich and varied products of their territories, rendered the favourable reception of strangers, a peculiar part of their policy. Most of the chiefs and princes too had either commercial transactions of their own, or levied high customs on those of their subjects. These formed in some instances no inconsiderable sources of their revenue. The arrival of European navigators therefore was not only welcomed, but sometimes the event was celebrated with pomp and magnificence. Gama, in writing an account to Europe of his first (p.5) reception at Calicut, says: "They little think in Portugal what honours are done us here". Catral (?) in the same manner was received not only favourably but with the warmest expressions of joy. In both cases it is true this harmony was soon interrupted; but this was owing according to their own statement, entirely to the misrepresentations of the Arab merchants, who were jealous of being supplanted by them. Are we sure that the Arabs misrepresented them and that their accusations had no foundation? Certainly some of the measures which they took, admitting them as they say, to have been adopted in their own redress were of a very violent nature, and such as might reasonably have excited the suspicion and enmity of the native government. From the beginning of their appearance in India, the proceedings of the Portuguese were of a description to cause the most unfavourable impression of European nations. Subsequently, the attack upon Ormuz, by their celebrated commander Albuquerque, without the slightest alleged ground of quarrel, his capture of a ship off Calicut, immediately after the conclusion of peace with the Zamorin, and the regular system of piracy which he carried on every vessel he met, exhibit a systematic violation of all the rights of nations, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel. By these and other means not much more justifiable, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing an extensive dominion. It would however have been wonderful if that nation had not become under such circumstances, the object of general dread and aversion among the powers of India.

The Dutch give accounts no less flattering of the favourable reception, which they experienced from the native sovereigns. This was indeed enhanced by the general disgust (p.6) which the violence and injustice of the Portuguese had inspired. They found no obstacle it appears to the erection of forts, except the unwillingness of the natives to work at them; but if they chose to erect fortifications themselves full permission was given. It does not appear that this nation, in their conduct to the natives, ever proceeded to such extremeties of violence, as the Portuguese. For a long time weak, and struggling at home for their independence, they were obliged to exhibit at least a show of moderation, and to consult the favour of the inhabitants. The outrages, by which their conduct in India was marked, were committed chiefly against the rival European nations. It is worthy of remark that the Dutch established their power in India by forming alliances with the native princes, by serving as auxiliaries and by subsidiary engagements, resembling in their principle and their result, those which have since been pursued with much greater success by the English Company.

If we search the narratives of the early British adventurers, we shall find that they had equal cause to be satisfied with their reception from the sovereigns of India. Lancaster was received at Acheen with the same pomp of rejoicing and of respect, which Gama had experienced at Calicut; nor was his reception at Bantam less cordial. All the complaints which are made of the treatment which the English experienced in those islands, are directed against the Dutch only; never against the natives. In like manner all the embassies to the Mogul were successful, though the court of that monarch was filled with the enemies of the English. The utmost exertions of those persons, were (p.7) only able to obstruct, or retard, not finally to intercept, the bounties of the monarch. Repeated instances may be given in which the English were not only permitted, but asked and entreated to establish factories, and sometimes when they were seen sailing along the coast, vessels were sent out for the purpose of inviting them. A factory with the English did not originally mean any thing more than the mere settlement of a few agents in any particular place, but without any provision made for their defence. I have noticed the reasons that made the Company soon sensible of the inconvenience of this dependent situation. So early as the year 1611 an offer was made to Middleton of a place and harbour to fortify. At Surat the English were permitted by successive Firmans from the Moghul Emperors to erect fortifications, and they were able to resist the whole force of Sevagi. Armagon, Madras, Calcutta, Anjengo and other places on the coasts of Bengal, Coromandel and Malabar, were in like manner granted by the local governments, with full liberty to erect fortifications. The native sovereigns were sensible that the trade could not otherwise be carried on with any security against European rivals, and they never at this time dreaded that these concessions, could ultimately prove fatal to themselves.

Upon this system, the Company acted for a very long period, using their fortified stations, not as sources of power or revenue, but merely as places of security and commercial depots. The first time that they appear to have been inspired with any desire of conquest, was in 1687 when Governor Child was at the head of the (p.8) administration of affairs in India. This man's ambition was excited by the instructions of the Company to their agents, in which they merely pointed out Salsette and Bassein as useful appendages to Bombay; to which they wished to add Chittagon on the eastern frontier of Bengal. Child with more confidence and courage than the event or his resources justified, entered into a war with the Moghul Empire. The disastrous result of this contest, seems to have withdrawn the views of the Company form schemes of conquest, and having succeeded in restoring an amicable intercourse with the Moghul, they reverted to their ancient system of rendering their possessions subservient only to the purposes of commerce. It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that this system was permanently abandoned.

The French began to establish themselves on the coast of Coromandel towards the end of the seventeenth century. Pondicherry became the rival of Madras. Whenever a war broke out in Europe between the two nations, the flame extended to India. A great political interest was soon attached to the events which took place in that distant part of the world, and the Company while they extended their own power, conceived, that they were promoting the interest and glory of their country.

In the prosecution of this context, it was natural to seek auxiliaries among the princes of the country. Accordingly, by espousing respectively the opposite pretensions of two rivals, each secured an ally and confederate. This connexion furnished them with the means of supporting war and with arguments for carrying (p.9) it on. Under the character of auxiliaries they were sometimes engaged in hostilities in India, while the nations remained at peace in Europe. Under the plea of maintaining the claims of their allies, they pursued insensibly schemes of ambition and of aggrandizement for themselves. From these transactions however a natural, but unforeseen consequence arose. The native troops, cooperating on both sides with Europeans, were necessarily committed against European armies; and the fatal scent was then disclosed, of their utter inability to contend with such adversaries. It appeared that while the troops of the two rival nations engaged, those of their allies were little more than spectators; that vast armies fled before a handful of Europeans; and that a British or French army

of a few thousand men would find nothing in Hindostan that could stand before it. This discovery of the utter weakness of so opulent and renowned an Empire, opened prospects almost boundless to the avarice and ambition of Europeans. It was not in human nature to resist so brilliant a prize. The rivalship however, and the nearly equal power of Britain and France in the Carnatic, formed a balance, which preserved for some time longer its independence.

The first origin of war in Bengal cannot as in the Carnatic be traced to European ambition. The aggression of Surajul Dowlah was unprovoked and atrocious. A just cause of war was offered and we reestablished ourselves in that celebrated region by a series of splendid victories. The same effect (p.10) when hostilities commenced followed, as in the Carnatic, and in a manner still more conspicuous. At the memorable battle of Plassey, a numerous army fled before a handful of British troops and fully established their superiority over the armies of India. The French settlements in Bengal soon yielded to this ascendancy. They were reduced and the field was left entirely open to the progress of the British arms. The resistance made by the native powers was overcome without delay and in the course of a few years, Bengal, Behar and Orissa was added to our dominion, or placed under our protection. These operations produced another very extraordinary result, which formed a new era in the military annals of India, and the consequences of which we have not yet perhaps seen in all their extent. From its abundant population we have created soldiers. By training its inhabitants to arms and by introducing amongst them our military regulations, they have been made to rival and oppose the armies of Europe. By means of discipline and subordination they have become the principal instruments of our power and influence in India. By carefully attending to their wants and prejudices we have given them new habits of life and have finally employed them successfully in foreign conquests. But we must not forget that these are the same men who were defeated with ease and almost without resistance at Plassey. The change has been produced by means not very difficult and which others may resort to. In fact the (p.11) example has not been lost and every subsequent war in India has been more arduous and obstinately disputed.

It was the opinion of Lord Clive and of Mr Hastings, certainly very competent judges, that the acquisition of territory in India might have stopt with the possession of the Bengal provinces, and that any farther addition would become a burden, instead of a benefit to the British nation. This too, either was, or soon became, the general opinion at home. The court of directors never ceased inculcating upon their servants abroad, the expediency of a defensive system; of a regard to the rights of the native princes, and a strict adherence to the treaties concluded with them. This mode of proceeding was warmly approved by Parliament, in the course of the enquiries which that Assembly instituted into the affairs of the Company. They passed on the 9th of April 1782 a series of resolutions, expressing their sense and approbation of the policy, as well as justice, by which the orders of the court of directors were dictated but lamented that they should have been so little observed. Both in the act of 1784 and in that of 1793, which placed the concerns of the Company under new regulations, a preamble was introduced to this effect - "to pursue schemes of conquest and of extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of this nation". Yet with this impression strong in the minds of the Company and of parliament, schemes of conquest were prosecuted without interruption and province after province was added to the British dominion. The prohibition of the legislature has been uniformly disregarded by every succeeding government in India and the violation has been as uniformly sanctioned (p.12) by the thanks of Parliament. The law therefore has ceased to exist.

It would however be unjust to conclude that the wars of the Company in India have been always produced by ambition and the desire of dominion. Nothing would be more erroneous than this conclusion. They have been produced by those natural causes which force nations into hostility in every period of society and which have a continual operation in the direction of human affairs. The situation of the Company in the character and station of an independent power, rendered a recurrence to war unavoidable.

It would be wrong for example to say that the war with Tippoo was solely prompted by ambition. The hostile disposition of that prince and the intimate alliance which he had formed with France, gave him the character of an open and decided enemy. His power was dangerous to our existence and it was absolutely necessary for our safety that it should be reduced. The result was his destruction and the extension of our dominion - an event the inseparable attendant of success. It was equally incompatible with our security in India to allow the French brigades at Hyderabad and those under the banners of the same nation in the service of Scindea, to remain.

Even the interference in the affairs of the Mahrattahs and the wars which have resulted from it, originated in views of safety. They ended however in magnificent schemes of policy and of pure ambition. From this period we have aimed at becoming (p.13) the sole arbiters of India. From this time at least the system of our government has been deeply imbued with the spirit of conquest. The vast accumulation of territory, which we take every means of increasing, by war and by negociation, is a proof of this spirit. By means of subsidiary alliances and by the dominion actually in our possession, the Company control or influence a far greater extent of country, than the Empire of

Dehly ever contained. We imagine however that our power is not complete while Scindea and Holkar, maintain their independence. We have perhaps already succeeded in compelling them to submit to our yoke; but shall we then have succeeded in establishing tranquility and peace in India? The confederate system may be complete; but will this secure the cooperation of the chiefs for the general defence and security of Hindostan, or will it render them on the contrary, the associates, avowed or secret, of the first enemy? The losses which these chiefs have sustained, will make them less able and more unwilling to contribute their aid. In forming those arrangements too little or too much has been done. The means of resistance and of attack are only diminished. It is not possible to calculate, according to the usual principles which guide human actions, that the power remaining in their hands, will be zealously and effectively employed in any plan very conducive either to our views or interest. The desire of revenge and of recovering their losses cannot but exist. it will be present incessantly to their minds and the first opportunity will be embraced of recovering the situations (p.14) of which they have been deprived by us. We have left wounds in every quarter and produced every where discontent. The confidence which was once reposed in our moderation and justice is gone. We have made use of treaties, contracted solely for protection, as the means of making violent demands and of....our chains. Every individual almost above the common artizan and labourer suffer by our system of Government.

I have produced this picture with great reluctance; but it is necessary to show the state of the public

feeling towards us and the uncertain reliance of any support from our allies in any case of dangerous extremity. This is the result of the natural course of things and belongs to the circumstances of our situation. The system of policy followed in India has been the natural consequence of the relative situation of the respective powers. Without any preconcerted plan, or even wish, of extending their dominion, the Company have insensibly and step by step, obtained possession of nearly the whole of that immense empire. This is the never failing result of strength and ability on the one hand; of wealth and weakness on the other. In the course of those transactions the Company have often manifested a spirit of remarkable moderation and justice. The schemes of ambition and of aggression are principally to be laid to the charge of their agents. But even of their conduct it may be remarked, that if it cannot always be justified, it was the consequence of circumstances, and such as would have been followed by any other men of talents who had a great (p.15) field suddenly opened to them of honour and preferment.

But great and preponderating as the Company's influence is in India, it is imperfect, and exercised under too many impediments for the equitable and proper administration of the affairs of the country. It is utterly impossible for a small number of Europeans to superintend the concerns of a population of sixty or eighty millions; but this apparently irreparable defect can only affect those provinces under the undivided dominion of the Company. The effects of our system on the rest of India are still more deplorable. To the imbecile and powerless state to which we have reduced the native Governments we must ascribe all the disorders that have lately disturbed the country. The first effect of their unsuccessful contests with us was the necessary discharge of a great part of their armies, who, no longer finding regular pay and subsistence, and having arms in their hands, have been obliged to maintain themselves by robbery and violence. The same thing would have happened in Europe after the defeat and dispersion of the French armies, had not the spirit of licentiousness and rapine been restrained, by the presence of the forces which the allies have kept on foot. By reducing the native powers to this weak and degraded state, we have deprived them of the ability and perhaps of the inclination of crushing disturbances which they may think more hurtful to us than to themselves. They may hope from anarchy and insurrection to recover their losses.

I would now advert for a moment to the fate of those European nations who have besides ourselves acquired power and dominion in India. They may afford us a lesson of useful instruction. It may (p.16) be first observed that those nations have constantly viewed the progress of each other with an unfriendly jealousy, and slelenda art Carthage (?), has been the universal rule of their conduct. The native states have had little or no hand in this ruin and decay. They have fallen in succession a prey to one another. As the Portuguese were the first who established themselves in India, they were also the first to experience a fall. The Dutch founded their power on the subversion of that to those rivals. The superior ascendancy of the British arms has succeeded in annihilating the power of the French in India, and the same doom has attended the celebrated establishments of Holland. In the reduction of the Dutch settlements a circumstance occurred not more remarkable than natural. The natives cooperated with zeal and effect in assisting us to drive them from their country.

I shall now proceed to consider three important questions. 1st How far has this vast extent of territorial possession, been beneficial to the Company and to the British nation? 2nd Is it practicable to fix a limit to our territorial dominion? 3rd If practicable, how is it to be done?

These questions are not only of vital importance to our prosperity but to our existence in India. I beg to refer you to a paper which I transcribed on my passage home and which I shall annex to this letter. It was written at a time when the concerns of India were fresh on (p.17) my mind and still occupied my daily thoughts. I shall probably in the following remarks repeat many of the sentiments contained in that paper, but this is not easily avoided and it is necessary for the continuation of the subject.

It has been doubted whether the possession of colonies has been the source either of revenue or power to any of the modern European nations. The most useful power is that which increases our consequence where we are immediately connected by the ties of society and of interest. In this view, has the conquest of India increased the strength and influence of Great Britain, with relation to France and Europe? If it should be found to have diverted those means of enterprize which might have been employed, in support of our honour and independence at home, this question can hardly be answered in the affirmative. The people of India can never be brought to reinforce our fleets and armies in Europe.

It may be said that these objections are applicable to all colonial possessions; but this is a wrong term for India. We hold it by quite a different tenure and connexion. In the case of a colony, the mother country may be disposed to make sacrifices in favour of a body of people drawn from among her own offspring, which she might refuse to a foreign population. There is a natural obligation to support a colony and it cannot be abandoned; but a conquest may be relinquished whenever it becomes burdensome or troublesome without foregoing any duty.

I have confined myself in this discussion entirely to the consideration of a territorial revenue. The profits and advantages of our commerce with India form a distinct question. They depend little upon the possession of territory. A few sea ports and the Bengal provinces, would secure all the advantages that can be derived from a trade to India. The most profitable branch of our commerce is that with China, where our factory is not even fortified.

But the dispersion and waste of the population of a country can be easier replaced than the wealth which is spent in maintaining a remote dominion. I fear it will also appear that our possessions in India have operated as a drain on the treasures of Great Britain as well as on her population. The revenues of that country although exceeding in amount that of most of the kingdoms of Europe, have not for the last twenty five years been able to defray the expenses of the Government. We have a debt of upwards of thirty millions sterling, which is about double the sum total of the revenue, and imposes an annual burden of perhaps two millions sterling. It has been found necessary to transport two millions sterling specie from England to pay the armies who were fighting in India, and a country which has been to every conqueror the most abundant source of wealth, has hitherto been a drawback on that of Great Britain. (p.18) I will venture to add, that so long as the present system is continued, no improvement in the pecuniary state of our affairs in India is to be expected. To illustrate this position, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the present condition of our Eastern Empire.

This Empire extends from the Indus to the Ganges and from then to Himalaya mountains. It is in contact with China and Tartary. Its population is almost unexampled in history. Within this vast space, many different nations are comprised, unlike in their manners and language. The dynasties of the ancient princes of the numerous kingdoms into which this immense region has been from time immemorial divided, have survived the independence of their country. Some of them are still in the exercise of sovereign power and the rest live on pensions which are allowed them by the Company. The descendants of the Zamorin who received Vasco de Gama and other princes who opposed Alexander, are yet in existence. Those who are in a situation to perform the functions of sovereigns may be divided into two classes. The first are our subsidiary allies who live under our protection. The second although still free from this tie, are so much reduced in their power, that they have no real means of resisting any of the mandates of the British Government. It is upwards of 40 years since a French Officer observed, "that the Indian Princes in the alliance of the Company were allowed the exercise of their prerogatives, only in matters of little moment". This is pretty nearly the case at present. In this mixture of authority and dependence it would be in vain to look for any solid (p.19) or

sincere alliance. They all feel a yoke, which they would be glad to embrace any favourable opportunity of throwing off. This sentiment of hostility is deeply rooted and must remain so long as the causes exist that produced it. Those who are bound to us apparently by the strongest ties of confederacy, feel, that the treaties concluded with us, have not been between independent states, but between a sovereign and his vassals. They perceive that in signing those treaties they have consigned themselves to a state of degrading dependence. The moment therefore that any power appears, which affords a promise of being able to cope with ours, they will instantly range themselves on its side. Is it certain that we should never have to contend with such a power? France, we may be well aware, is viewing our predominance in the East, with an eye of perpetual jealousy, and tho she may be at present too busy or too weak, to make any great exertions for the recovery of her former influence, she will certainly avail herself of the first moment of leisure, to accomplish that favourite object. It is in vain to hope that we can long exclude her from India. China, Siam, Ava, Persia and Arabia are open to her enterprise and ambition. In time and repose she will find ships. her former passions will regain their influence. But is there no other enemy to dread besides France? May not the policy of Russia be again directed towards India? The barbarous nations that intervene would rather be disposed to augment her power and force than to oppose her progress. The ambition of Persia may be excited to invade this rich prize and constant danger must be apprehended from the warlike hordes which extend from Tartary (p.20) to this frontier. It has been by this route that every invader has entered India from the time of Alexander down to that of Nadir Shah. Instead of a weak and mercenary government in this direction, the security of India would require an independent and powerful state. The intervention of such a power would form a strong boundary and prove a hearty

and ready confederate against an enemy. Our present system has destroyed this barrier and the British troops now occupy the advance post in this line of defence.

From this sketch the basis of our dominion in India will appear not a little discordant and hetero geneous. It is to be secured not merely against foreign and open enemies, but against the secret hostility of the inhabitants, or of those princes whom we have reduced to a state of dependence. It is evident also that in proportion to the extent of any empire, must be the difficulty of defending it. The army maintained by Britain in India may be estimated at nearly two hundred thousand men. Yet it has never been possible, however urgent the necessity, to assemble at any one point, more than thirty five thousand of all descriptions. In the last contest with Tippoo, when the entire and the utmost efforts of the three presidencies were directed to that object, they were scarcely able, after several months of preparation, to assemble that number. This arises not only from the great extent of the Company's dominions, but also from their mixed and extraordinary circumstances. As the whole of this immense territory is held by the sword, it must be covered and overawed by military detachments. If those were withdrawn, the revenue would be unpaid and the authority of the Company would instantly cease. From this statement, whatever may be the (p.21) desire expressed from this country, it will be found impossible, during the most profound peace in India, to reduce any part of the military establishment. We must keep both our subjects and our allies in subjection. There must be besides a disposable force to make head against any enemy that may arise. There is no native army indeed that could oppose us with any prospect of success and we may view the issue of any war in which we can be engaged without the slightest apprehension. But although the superiority of an European army is completely established and there is no longer any native power which can endanger our existence in India; yet the

instability of their politics and the rapid movements of their predatory forces, are sufficient to keep us continually on the watch. By inspiring frequent alarms, they make us incur all the expence and all the inconveniences of war. The demonstrations of hostility made by Ammer Khan, and the extensive depredations committed by the Pindarrios did not place the Company in any real danger; but they rendered it necessary to prepare and equip an expensive armament. In the present state of India similar alarms may be expected continually to occur.

It is from these circumstances that we are probably to trace the principal causes which have rendered the possession of India hitherto of so little value. By what system then can it be made really productive? In attempting to solve this great question I am aware that I shall propose an unusual and an unpopular expedient. A proposal to contract the bounds of our territories (p.22) and to relinquish the fruits of conquest, will have an unpromising appearance. The events of fate are not revealed to us; but it would be a blind confidence to say as Jupiter did in the language of an ancient poet - "to the Romans I fix neither limits for duration of empire". I am however fully sensible that I make a proposition very novel in its nature and which has perhaps only one example in history. I refer to the example of the Romans in the reign of Hadrian; but you think that Gibbon's narration of that period of the Roman history does not sufficiently develope the grounds of that policy, nor the advantages or disadvantages consequent upon it. The opinion of the Historian however appears to be expressed pretty plainly and he is evidently disposed to ascribe the conduct of Hadrian to prudence and moderation

In resigning the Eastern conquests of Trajan, Hadrian restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign, withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. It is important to observe that he did this in compliance with the precept of Augustus, which prescribed the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire. Gibbon adds that by this conduct Hadrian confessed himself unequal to the task of defending the conquests of Trajan. The same writer clearly evinces the advantages of this policy when he afterwards observes - "a forty years tranquility, the fruit of valour and moderation, had succeeded the victories of Trajan".

Bayle as acute an observer as Gibbon, agrees with him in this exposition of Hadrian's conduct, and he says farther, that Hadrian abandoned almost all the conquests of Trajan, "rather than expose his empire to the confusions that threatened it on all parts". Upon the whole (p.23) the motives of Hadrian's conduct are not I think equivocal and it is supported by the prudent maxim of Augustus. At any rate the example of Hadrian, according to the construction I entertain of it, is consonant with the policy that I conceive to be suitable to our situation in India, under the modifications which the difference of circum stances require, and which I shall proceed to show. I hope to point out a system which may free the Company from many of its present embarrassments, without any diminution of its present revenue, by which a great reduction may be effected in our expences and the army become more concentrated and be made more effective.

Whether it might not originally have been more advantageous to confine our territorial possessions in India, to forts and factories for the purposes of trade, is a question which it is too late to discuss. We have been forced forward by irresistible circumstances and the supremacy which we have assumed cannot be relinquished. It would be an irremediable error to fall back. I must premise therefore that I propose to relinquish only such territories as may not be essential to our power, which may be embarrassing to administer, and which may neither be productive of revenue, nor profitable to our commerce. I shall endeavour to draw a line, between the territories, which it would be wise to relinquish, and those which it would be advantageous to retain.

I imagine it is the first object of the Company's policy to exclude the nations of Europe from forming any political connexions in India and that it is necessary for this purpose to possess every (p.24) avenue by which they can enter the country. With the exception of the small extent of space occupied by Goa and Tranquebar, the whole coast from the Indus to the Ganges, comprising a line, exclusive of Ceylone, of upwards of 30 degrees of latitude, is either in our actual possession, or belongs to princes in our alliance. If we run a line from Calcutta to Cutch, the space included will be nearly an equilateral triangle, and will give an extent of frontier, by sea and land of more than 3000 miles. The entire sea coast and the adjacent territory we must continue to occupy. Those are important to our commerce and to our safety. There are also among the British possessions in India many extensive districts, manufacturing, fertile and highly cultivated, which it would be eligible to retain. These districts from the unwarlike character of the inhabitants have invariably been the prey of every invader and have consequently been long used to a foreign yoke. They suffer nothing from a state of

subjection to which they have always been accustomed and a mild and beneficent government must be all that they can wish. The people who inhabit the fine provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, come under this description. The possession of the great manufacturing towns on both sides of the peninsula are of evident importance and many extensive tracts in the interior may be necessary for maintaining our present preponderance which I have never proposed to relinquish. I wish to make that preponderance more secure and to exercise it without impediment. It is equally impossible to point out at present all the countries that we may (p.25) hold with advantage, as it would be to specify every one, that we may without injury abandon. It is sufficient in a sketch like this to point out a ground of action. The application of the principle must be left to better information and more mature consideration.

I have mentioned some of the possession which I think may be retained without difficulty and with decided advantage to the Company and the nation. But there are other districts of a very different character, which must always be maintained by a military force and can never pay the expences of their administration. There are the Rajaput stats every where; the Nair principalities of Malabar; the Polygars of the Carnatic; and in general all the hilly and jungle tracts. Many of the Hindu Rajahs and zemindars are of this description.

These people have never been completely subject to any foreign power. The character of meekness and submission, which we are apt to ascribe indiscriminately to the natives of Hindostan, does not apply to them. They are a martial race, devoted to arms and their peculiar institutions. Every power

from the days of Timur to the present, which has aimed at the empire of India, has found in them a constant and formidable enemy. They may have made a formal submission; they may have consented to the payment of a tribute; but they have never unless with the utmost impatience, suffered their internal administration to be conducted by another. Their obedience can be only maintained by a military force, which consumes a scanty revenue, for those countries are in general not productive, and diverts the troops from (p.26) more important purposes. The territories of which I am speaking have neither productions, nor manufactures, which can become the foundation of a commerce and revenue, at all considerable. The advantage derived from them can never bear any proportion to the burden they impose.

It may be argued that as these states are warlike, if they were also independent, they might be the source of new dangers, and combine with more powerful enemies for the overthrew of the Company's dominion in India. If we examine their history we shall find that all their exertions have been of a defensive nature. They have never united in any general federative system of conquest. Their continual wars amongst each other are prompted by petty quarrels and military disputes; never by any general and extensive plan of ambition. Could they be cordially attached to us, they might in the prosecution of a defensive system, be employed as a formidable bulwark against any danger. It was this use that the Moghul emperors made of them but they effected their purpose more by address and management than by coercion. In the decline of that Empire, when treachery and rebellion hastened its ruin, those martial tribes were its most zealous supporters. On the invasion of Nader Shah - "You

must be watchful over the Moghul Omras," said Raja Jay Sing, (p.27) "who, seem to be united in order to compass some treacherous design. As for us Rajapoots we are ready to join the Royal Ensigns."

These principles will apply to many parts of our empire and to extensive territories in the center of India. The plan which I am anxious to recommend with regard to those, is, to restore the administration entire into the hands of the native princes, and to attach them to us as allies, rather than as reluctant dependents. I am persuaded that the simple operation of this measure would cause a certain augmentation of our clear revenue. In some of these districts the expence of administration, under the present system uniformly exceeds the revenue derived from them; and though in some others, there may seem, in ordinary cases, to be a balance in our favour, yet the contingencies that are continually arising, create from time to time extraordinary expences, which seem to absorb any apparent advantage. In lieu of the present revenue, the native states, on having their independence restored to them, would most willingly consent to pay a tribute, which would be clear of any deduction, and amount probably to more than we now receive. But how, it may be asked, will these princes be able to pay a tribute out of territories, which in our hands, do not defray the expence of governing them? To this I reply, that the services (p.28) of the natives of India are commanded at a much easier rate than those of Europeans, and that a large proportion of our expense is incurred in consequence of the nature of our government.

This arrangement might be made to reduce another important object, and to assist in paying off the debt of the Company, by obtaining the command of a large amount of capital. In consideration of receiving back their territories those who reaped the benefit of the measure, would willingly pay a pecuniary recompense, the aggregate of which might be very considerable. India abounds with rich men and the shroffs would be the guarantees of every pecuniary stipulation which this transaction might involve. It was the knowledge of their extraordinary wealth, and the expedition with which the largest sums were raised by the Guicawar Government, that the present idea was suggested.

The proposed measure would make an important addition to the revenue of the Company, and no less considerable would be the augmentation of their power. That immense mass of force which is now frittered away in supporting the Company's authority in many unprofitable districts, would then be concentrated and disposable. These princes who were restored to independence, would form a real addition to our military resources. At present they are a source of weakness rather than of strength. When they were once satisfied by experience, that they had nothing (p.29) to fear from the Company, and that its preponderance formed their best security against the attack of others, they would then be ready to lend their aid on any emergency. They would form the outworks of that defensive system, upon which the British Government would then act. In cases of extremity and danger these people might be reckoned upon as useful auxiliaries.

I have in a former part of this letter observed that our supremacy in India is not to be relinquished and there is no part of the present measure which is meant to affect this attitude. We shall have time to hold the balance of power and to be at the head of the confederated Governments. I have not proposed the smallest reduction in our military establishment, unless circumstances should afterwards permit this to be done with prudence and safety. I propose on the contrary to maintain every military post station, or garrison, which we now occupy, and which may be thought useful or necessary, either for the support of our influence in India, or for its protection from foreign aggression. this formidable position will repel the objection, that those states, when once freed from our yoke, may refuse to pay the stipulated tributes, and join even the standard of our enemies. We are at present probably fully or much exposed to this danger as we can be by any change of system, and a judicious disposition of our numerous force throughout India, must prove the best security against every danger. By the proposed plan, (p.30) they would have their professional duties only to perform, they would be assembled in large bodies, ready to chastise the first instance of disaffection, and to punish with rigour every infraction of allegiance. The prompt and decisive punishment of the guilty, would prevent others from following their example. It is likely that the most common offense would be to procrastinate and profess to refuse, the payment of their tributes. The system would provide that this should be at the expence of the party who commits the transgression, and that the charge of every extraordinary

armament should be defrayed by the guilty person. this would at once be a moderate, just, profitable and effectual punishment. In cases in which this method has been acted on in India the example seemed always to produce the most useful impressions, to be long remembered, and to answer the purpose of preventing a repetition of the offense. The disturbances must be expected to be frequent in such an immense empire which would require military interference; but the Company would be freed from every extraordinary expence of the armaments which such occasions might call forth. Cases of treachery and greater atrocity would of course demand a greater punishment, which circumstances would point out. We might hope, as the efficiency of the military force of the Company would be greatly augmented by the proposed system, that this would be equally the means of deterring and of effectually (p.31) punishing either secret or open attempts to disturb the public tranquility

22. ALEXANDER WALKER'S VIEWS ON JAMES MILL'S HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA, 1819-1820

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland: Walker of Bowland papers: (correspondence between Mill and Walker) The letters from Walker to Mill are in his own hand with many corrections. Some of the words are unreadable and are indicated below with (?). The letters from J. Mill to Walker of 5.10.1819, 6.11.1819 and 20.3.1820 are not included here.

22(i) J. Mill to Col. Alexander Walker

East India House,

14th Sept. 1819

My Dear Sir,

Mr McCulloch who returned to us yesterday, after a month's absence, has had the kindness to show me a letter of yours, one passage of which was more calculated to yield me pleasure, than a good many of the fine things which this world contains. All the reasons I will not tell you; for though I should have much pleasure in stating, I am pretty sure you would have something else than pleasure in making (?), them. Yet one thing I will say, for my own satisfaction, and in defiance of yours. I know a few men (many are not known to any one) in whom I am sure that the ruling passion is the love of mankind. But I never saw a man in whom I was so immediately and powerfully struck with the marks of that sentiment, as I was in you, after the first half hours conversation I had with you. I do not deserve the favourable opinion you have conceived of me, if the flattering expressions I have read from the pen of such a man were not calculated to delight me.

The liberty, however, which I have taken of thus addressing you, is for another purpose than that of expressing my gratitude. You intimate that you are about to begin the perusal of my ponderous volumes; and there is a service of (p.2) very great importance, which you will be able to render me. I am employed in preparing the work for a second edition. I am persuaded that I should profit more than I will venture to say by your remarks. I therefore hope and earnestly request, that you will place a sheet of paper by your side when you read, and jot down your strictures as you proceed - above all that you will mark well the points on which you think that I am materially wrong. I will not promise that I shall adopt all your opinions; for that would give you no satisfaction; but I do promise that which alone you will like to hear, that I shall carefully reconsider the grounds of these opinions from which you dissent, and with a jealousy of my own prepossessions, and shall faithfully adhere to the side to which the balance of evidence appears to me to incline. I am perfectly sincere when I say I shall like better to hear from you the flaws (?) You have to bestow than the praise, because by the flaws (?) principally I can profit - though on other accounts I would wish you to read with more partiality than I should perhaps be very willing to confess. I am anxious not to lose any ground with you through the imperfections of my book. On the moral side I count myself tolerably secure with you; for I think you will see the interests of truth and of humanity sincerely pursued. On the score of

intellectuals, however, I should like to have men of your suffrage than I dare to promise myself I shall obtain.

I do not venture to touch upon the more important topics of your letter to Mr McCulloch. As many productions of yours as I can lay my hands upon, I need not say with what interest I shall peruse.

I continue performing, and I hope successfully, my noviciate in this house; deeply impressed with the importance of what is to be done, and duly anxious to qualify myself for taking as great a share as possible in the doing of it. Not you yourself can more assumedly desire to see your poor Hindus tasting all the blessings of a good government than I do. One thing is to me a source of the greatest delight (I regard it as little less than miraculous) that I should have found such talents and dispositions combined with me both here and at the Board of Control - and first and foremost in Mr McCulloch, on whom so much depends, and in whom I have found an union of estimable qualities, such as I have rarely found among all the men with whom the accidents of my life have brought me in contact - a sound and penetrating judgement, liberal ideas, the most perfect integrity any human being can be endowed with, and that in every sense of the word great knowledge of the train of affairs both here and in India, and a disposition prone to assist and befriend.

If I am happy enough to prevail upon you to set down your remarks, I will prefer a request, that you send me each sheet, as fast as it is filled; for I shall be obliged to make more dispatch in my revising process, for the sake of printing as fast as required, than will be compatible with much of that emendation which is to be desired; and as you will probably read in the same order as I revise, I shall receive your suggestions, if you send them piece-meal, as fast as I shall be ready to use them.

I am, my dear Sir,

with the highest regard

Most

22.(ii) Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill

Bowland,

29th September 1819.

My Dear Sir,

The sentiments which you have the goodness to express in your letter of the 14th are highly honourable and flattering to me. The pleasure which they conveyed to my mind had no other alley than a reasonable uncertainty, whether I have any just claim to so favourable a judgement; but even if this is to be ascribed to prejudice and partiality I shall accept with alacrity and frankness so agreeable a testimony of your regard and confidence. I shall value this not only in proportion to the high opinion I entertain of your many great acquirements, but on account also, and this will not be the least motive, of that entireness and manliness of character which I think distinguishes you. Your appointment to the India House and the manner in which I have understood that took place, conferred an honour on yourself and (p.2) the Court of Directors. They have long stood in need of men of talents, and it has often been a matter of surprise how their multiplicity of affairs which must come through their hands were ever managed at all by the feeble instruments they employed. Lord Bacon says that fitness to govern is a perplexed business. This is now be made comparatively easy by the able men at both ends of the town and it will constitute a new era in the government of India. Mr. McCulloch has done much and I trust his health will be preserved to perfect the work, he has so ably begun; but it is not talents alone: it is integrity with the faculty of a cool judgement and a genuine zeal in the cause of mankind, like his and your own that can accomplish the task (work) you have undertaken. I ought to ask your pardon for this effusion, but I cannot (p. 3) help adding my warmest exhortation that you should persevere and I predict that you will find a field even greater than you get at present for the gratification of a noble ambition which will con...(?) you to honour and independence. The connexion between this country and India is every day assuming more and more importance. It will afford ample scope for your highly gifted mind and I hope to see you long employed in the affairs of our country.

I have been prevented from writing you sooner by the avocations of company, which in the present state of our manners engross the importance of business. They are often a real interruption to some of the most agreeable pursuits of a retired life. You have required a task from me which I want ability to perform, but it is made with so much single heartedness that I shall endeavour to mark as I go on with

your History such observations and (p.4) impressions as may at the moment occur to my mind. I should have liked to have read the work over with you or to have been near you while engaged in its perusal; but as I cannot enjoy this advantage, I shall write my remarks with candour and sincerity which you will approve, although they may often consist of nothing more than my feelings and prejudices. I shall pursue in transmitting them the method which you have recommended and I would beg of you at your leisure to return the sheets with any observations which your extensive reading and information may offer in opposition to my opinions. I have in this request the view of my own instruction and perhaps the removal of errors which from my long connexion with India, may have been produced rather by custom and habit than by the force of evidence. I shall say (p.5) nothing about style, because I do not make any pretensions to correct writing, but I shall hope to express myself without ambiguity. I shall offer but hints indeed, which if they are worth any thing, will easily be understood and be able to be illustrated in your comprehensive mind. I shall defer every thing at present like praise and commendation. An able account of the ...rious (?) interests of India has been long wanted. You have been the first to occupy this field and will raise I trust a noble monument to your name.

I believe you are not exposed to postage at the India House; but if it is so I beg you ...

Mr. Mill

22.(iii) THE HINDUS SHOULD STAND PRETTY HIGH IN THE CIVILIZATIONAL SCALE

Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill:

Bowland,

21st October 1819

My Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive some time ago your interesting letter of the 5th but I have been prevented from answering it by various interruptions. I cannot even answer it as I wish at present, but I shall say some thing that I may not appear to neglect the correspondence of a person for whom I have so much respect and esteem. I have in this interval got in slowly with the History, but between yesterday and today I have dispatched your parcels under cover to Mr. Ricardo. The sheets are numbered which will enable you to connect them. I do not imagine that it can be of any use to you to continue these remarks and I fear that I may have sometimes offended you, though quite unintentionally. While reading and writing and playing with my children neither expressions nor ideas can be very accurately weighed. At the same time I have no opportunity of revising or of comparing what I have written and I must trust at once to your candour and indulgence for more than some allowance. To do justice to your...(?) would require many months (p.2) of study and reflection. Under any circumstances I must profess myself incapable of performing it either to your satisfaction or my own. I must therefore beg of you not to consider the remarks which I have made as criticisms on your work; but as mere casual thoughts and committed to paper as fast as they occur.

An enquiry into the state of civilization amongst the Hindus was important and necessary...which devolved on you as their historian. But unfortunately we have no settled idea of civilization and it is impossible that it can be otherwise until we have some fixed standard of comparison. It would almost appear that the history of mankind is not old enough to furnish a test by which every person would agree to abide. What ought to be the discriminative characteristic of a civilized people? If this is made to depend on the nature of the government it may change as the moon; being by turns more or less in a state of barbarity according to the alterations which the form of the community may assume. But even under those governments which were left to freedom (p.3) and which were established for individual comfort and happiness, it would be very difficult to take them as standard for real civilization. What rank shall we assign in the scale to the Grecians who were in the practice of murdering their prisoners, in cold blood, and who could drag them from the altar and put them, to death after a promise of mercy. Their history is filled with instances of their cruelty and falsehood. Neither is a pre-eminence in literature and science a safe test of a civilized people. In the ages of Bacon and Newton many innocent creatures were put to death for witchcraft. A belief in magic was general and Charles the I consulted astrologers. If we come down to our own times we shall see a great part of Europe living in a forced and artificial society and the governments every where resisting the progress of improvement. An abundance of errors and ignorance will be found to pervade every country. In this age all the enormities of the French Revolution and the (p.4) unnatural state of society which it produced, would show that we are not yet perfectly reclaimed, from an inclination at least to licentious barbarism. I have sometimes thought that there is a natural tendency in every human being to a savage life, and that this is only prevented by constant coercion and the power of inflexible laws.

If then the best tests we have of civilization are applied to the Hindus and if they are compared with other nations they should stand I think pretty high in the scale. They are perfectly acquainted with the arts of regular life, science has made a great progress amongst them and the moral virtues are not less respected than in any other country. They have many absurd follies and degrading superstitions; but scarcely any for which we may not find a parallel amongst the most civilized nations and they have neither disgraced themselves by sanguinary punishments nor by senseless prosecutions against those who entertain morally (?) singular opinions, looking at what we are about this moment in England.(?) In fine we are yet...the annals of civilization and have no fixed idea for the time. (?) If we were to examine and scrutinize the institutions and manners of the people who appear to us the (p.5) most (?) highly civilized, we shall find them far from a perfect state; nay in many respects they would deserve the name of barbarians. I confess myself quite at a loss what criterion to assume for fixing the point of civilization unless it be either some ancient or modern nation who may appear to have stood the highest in the scale ; for any other test must be imaginary. We may select some particular record of history of more honesty and probity and in which the business of government was understood with more intelligence and attention to happiness; but this will be found to have been owing to some powerful mind and individual and some fortunate occurrences rather than to any fast rooted system in the government or the society. Such moments have been always precarious and temporary (?). They have been nourished in benevolent and ingenious minds but they have constantly eluded the grasp when attempted to be brought into actual performance. I am quite ready to admit that there may be some difficulty in assigning to the Hindus their precise rank and that some of their advocates may have over-rated their claims; but there seems a general disposition in this country to undervalue them and I cannot but think that you placed them for too low in the scale by putting them on a level with the Peruvians. I beg you will excuse (p. 6) these remarks on a subject on which you must have thought much and I but, little; and which has occupied so much of the learned research of your most intellectual mind. I shall be glad to be set right and to have my errors corrected when you find leisure.

Mr. Mill

22.(iv) THE PRIDE OF EUROPE WAS QUITE BARBARICK UNTIL A VERY RECENT PERIOD

Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill

Bowland,

24th November 1819

My Dear Sir,

I was in Edinburgh when your letter of the 6th arrived and had not the pleasure of receiving it until my return home a few days ago. This circumstance has prevented me answering it sooner. I have in this interval read but little. The last sheets that I sent you were enclosed to Mr. Ricardo, and if you have received those that were previously franked by Sir Jas. (?) Montgomery, all that I have written will have come into your possession. Although I am sensible that these desultory remarks can add very little to your information, I shall nevertheless continue them and only request of you in return to let me have them back at a future period. I should wish to retrace these hasty opinions with the advantage of your remarks and to study more at leisure a subject which has always some interest for me. I shall in the meantime be happy if anything I say should meet your wishes and judgement. (p.2) One of my strongest desires is still to be useful to the people of India and to infuse into the minds of my countrymen sentiments towards them of kindness and justice. It is in your power to correct a multitude of errors and to remove many prejudices. There is a great field before you and you have given the world an admirable specimen of very powerful and comprehensive talents; but you have taken a dark and a severe view of the Hindu character which does not agree either with my experience or observation. If I concealed this opinion I should be unworthy of your esteem and confidence. At the same time I begin to think that there is little chance of producing any great change in your sentiments. They are very determined and they have been formed after great reflection and a most laborious research. They are too fixed to be easily moved and they are rivetted (?) with more power, as you have not I am thoroughly convinced adopted them, but under the most sincere impression of their truth. For the sake (p.3) of the Hindus and their amelioration this is unfortunate. It will add to the state of disgrace and reproach under which they already labour with many people; and the authority of your name will be produced to sink them still lower in the scale of society. The continual association of immorality and vice with their character will only expose them to the further contumely and contempt of our countrymen who are appointed to rule over them. I know that this is the very reverse of your intention, but such is the tendency of our nature and such is the spirit that I have often had occasion to check in its exercise. This country should never perhaps attempt to legislate for India. There will always be a greater chance of doing mischief, than good. We are too much separated by nature and

situation, and still more by manners, to be accurate judges of what is best for their interest and happiness. The greatest favour that Great Britain can confer upon India, is to see that the laws of the country are fairly administered. They are quite sufficient (p.4) for the security of life and property, which are the main ends of justice. An established and constant mode of process which the natives understand is preferable to any change, which a fortuitous Government like ours can never hope to ripen into maturity.

I cannot but think that you still estimate the Hindu civilization a great deal too low. You seem to consider the Mahommedans as having improved and refined their manners; but this does not appear to me to have been the case. The rude and illiterate nations of Tartary had little improvement in the arts of regular life to impart. The fact is they were looked upon by the Hindus as fierce barbarians who were indebted to the people they conquered for their refinement in taste and elegance. This is always acknowledged by the Mahommedan writers, who frequently own the superiority of the Hindus in science and in most other accomplishments.

The vague ideas we have of civilization must render every attempt (p.5) peculiarly difficult, if not abortive, to fix the precise rank of the Hindus in the scale. In my opinion they are far above the days of Henry the 4th. He lived in a faithless period, which was distinguished by crimes and civil wars.

Property was extremely insecure and the laws but little respected. If the state of civilization depends on commerce it had made little progress in that reign, when bills of exchange were unknown and a communication had scarcely begun to be established between the southern and the northern parts of Europe. It was extremely rare even in the 15th century for an English vessel to appear in the Mediterranean. In the 14th century we are informed that the manners even of the Italians were rude. The cloths of the men were of leather unlined and badly tanned. We are told by a Spaniard who came to London with Philip the 2nd that the English lived in houses made of sticks and dirt but they fared commonly as well as the king. Even the art of building with bricks was unknown in England until it came into general use in the time of Henry the 6th. The people were ill-lodged (p.6) and not well clothed until the beginning of last century. In Scotland every thing was worse. In short the pride of Europe was quite barbarick until a very recent period and we must come down very low indeed before we can institute any comparison with Hindu manners. I am ready to admit that the state of society in India is very unequal, but it every where affords traces of having been once in a superior condition and in some situations it is equal to what we can generally at present produce in Europe. I have sometimes compared the manners of our Europeans and sepoys when encamped together. This I should think was a situation for a pretty fair contrast and in all the essential qualities of temperance, decency and morals, the comparative estimate was in favour of the sepoys. This is an extensive subject and I have not room to pursue it farther; nor can I expect to say any thing which is not already familiar to you.

I remember I was forcibly struck one day that I called at your office when you told me that you had been the preceptor (p.7) to your children. This was a most interesting picture and I was tempted at the moment to have asked you many questions. You say that you have six; what age have they attained, what methods did you employ and what knowledge did you first impart to their little minds? It is a natural and a delightful duty to superintend their progress. In the discipline of some of the ancient schools I believe that none but the parent had the power of corporal punishment and the degrading application of the rod was of course but seldom inflicted. With my own boys I have found admonition sufficient and the natural influence of reason is the only correction perhaps that should be employed. I propose to carry them to a school in England where I think the character of the mind is better formed than with us; but this is a subject on which I must think often.

I remain my dear sir,

most faithfully and sincerely yours

signed A. Walker

J. Mill Esq.

22. (v) J. Mill to Col Alexander Walker

East India House,

Feb. 26, 1820

My Dear Sir,

After allowing a long period of Christmas holidays, during which I supposed you might be away from home, and a considerable period in addition to Christmas holidays, I became alarmed at the suspension of your kind communications; and have for weeks and weeks been deterred from writing to you, only under the fear that I might seem importunate, and making demands upon your time, when it might be otherwise occupied. I cannot however now refrain my anxiety to know what is the cause of my having been so long deprived of a continuation of what I so highly prized, your observations on my book. We have been printing since before Christmas - but I have not gone on with the first volume beyond the place up to which I had the benefit of your remarks. This, however, has been no inconvenience; because I have been going on with the other volumes. I have not now time to make nearly all the alterations which (p.2) I would have wished to make, and shall make, if the work comes to a third edition. But I have been enabled to correct some errors, of which you have convinced me; and still more frequently to guard my readers against certain extensions of my conclusions which I did not mean - but to which you have shewn me that they were liable. Above all you have convinced me that I had drawn the moral character of the Hindus in too dark colours, and this I shall acknowledge.

You will be happy to hear that we go on harmoniously, and I believe successfully, in every case (?) that you would wish, with the India correspondence. I have answered all the arrears of letters in Bengal, and have made considerable progress with those of Madras. I shall soon be at your territory, on the western coast, and shall be extremely happy to receive information from you, if you think there is any point of importance to which I may be in danger of not looking in the proper light. Pray, have you formed any opinion about what they call at Madras, Meerassy rights? I have had a number of conversations with Mr Ravenshaw; our director, upon the subject; and he has just put into my hands a paper on the subject, which he has drawn up a (p.3) good sheet, I believe, at my suggestion.

You mentioned in your last letter a wish to have some explanation of what I said to you one day about having been the preceptor of my children. This is a favourite subject, and I should like to have an opportunity of communicating with you upon it at length. Being convinced of the advantages which a father enjoyed in swaying the mind of his child, and being occupied wholly at home when I first became a father, I began with my first child, a son. The principle of imitation, seeing books my grand occupation, made his curiosity attach itself to books; and when in our little intercourse he desired to look at a book, instead of shewing him pictures, I showed him the letters. In this way, without any trouble he knew the letters, and more (how much more I do not recollect) before he was 18 months old - and before he was three years he could read English perfectly. The same principle of imitation led his curiosity to Greek books, owing to the novelty of the character. I availed myself in like manner of this curiosity to make him acquainted with the Greek characters, and after that with the inflections of the nouns and verbs. In the mean time he was occupied with maps; and by the time he was five years old, knew a good deal of Greek, and was acquainted with geography even to minuteness. Greek went on, and reading simple books of history, for

perhaps a couple of years, during which he had begun arithmetic. With Latin (p.4) after he began it, he became acquainted very rapidly, having first learned Greek. In this way, he has gone on; and from no part of his time having been allowed to go to waste, his acquirements are very unusual at his years. He is not 14 years old till next May - and he is not only a good Greek and Latin scholar, but he has actually read, all the Greek and Latin classics - he is well versed in mathematics, even fluxions(?) and the higher branches. I know nobody who has in his memory a greater amount of historical facts. I have taught him Logic - and I have taught him Political Economy. Mr.Richards who was interrogating him the other day, says he knows nobody by whom even the most abstruse points of the science are better understood. He has also a good knowledge of chemistry. His studies were always carried on in company with me. He sat in my room, and studied when I studied - and though attending to him when he needed it produced some interruption, yet all I have done, was done under it. If you meet with Mr.Wallace, your new Professor of Mathematics in Edinburgh, who knows him well - he will tell you about his mathematics at least. His two sisters, next to him in point of time, were taught to read by their mother, after which they came into my room, and prosecuted their studies under their brother. He has taught them under my eye, and with my assistance Latin, Arithmetic, Geography and History.

Adieu, my dear sir, and let me hear from you soon, at least to relieve my anxiety, on account of the suspension of your remarks.

Ever yours

J. Mill

22. (vi) ONLY UNDER BRITIS SUBJECTION INDIANS WERE REDUCED TO WRETCHEDNESS AND PENURY

Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill

6 March 1820.

My Dear Sir

The receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo has reminded me of much apparent neglect and inattention. It has reached me however while engaged on a tour of visits and in a situation which precludes me from the possibility of answering it as I would wish. The choice of enormous sheet of paper and close lines will shew you, that I sit down with the determination of writing at least a long letter. My silence for some months has arisen partly from the langorous (?) habit of delaying that until tomorrow which ought to be performed today; and partly from the apprehension that I might appear to you the unreasonable champion of a theory without adding to your information. While I was pointing out the errors, as I thought, of your book, I was afraid that I might be committing greater, and I was aware that I was frequently speculating on questions of political science, which an eminent disciple like you could far better explain. I was unwilling beside, to oppose the reflexions of a mind, which on so many occasions I admired, and which continually (p.2) presented views of government and of human affairs that corresponded with my own. I have not however during all this time been entirely idle, and if I have read slowly I have read with improvement. Before I left home I had almost finished the last volume. I must defer until my

to send you a copious effusion when I get back. I shall at present hastily sketch out a few general ideas, perhaps more of curiosity than of real interest in the history of India; but they are connected with the philosophy of human affairs and are not undeserving of consideration in an enquiry which has for its object the happiness of so large a portion of our species.

It seems to be perfectly established both from its ancient history and its present state, that India was divided into a great many small governments. Every chief was called a Raja (p.3) and exercised an independent jurisdictioon. What must have been the effect of this multitude of authorities on the government and condition of the people? Was it calculated to produce in the rulers, a moderate or an arbitrary use of power? In this division into small societies, the communities are checks upon the princes, and the princes on each other. Would this tend to abate the violence of these petty sovereigns, as far as the property of their subjects was concerned, and would it render them less liable to encroach on their priviledges. The division of a country into small governments, was favourable in Greece and Italy to the freedom and to the rights of the people.

There seems to me one great reason why Europeans have as yet formed inadequate and imperfect notions, of the state of society and of civilization in India. They have mixed seldom with the people. They have hardly or ever enjoyed the conversation of the natives in the midst of their families, and in their private way of life. It is (p.4) perhaps from the

general conversation of the people and their domestic habits, from which the most correct judgement can be formed of the state of their society. At present many humane and able men, have seen nothing in the character of the people of India, but what is discreditable to human nature. Much of this has happened from the degrading treatment of the natives by Europeans, which has banished from their company, natives of spirit and of high pretensions. It has in fact become the interest and from thence the habit, of the Company's servants to hold out unfavourable opinions of the people of India. I have not time to investigate the nature of this spirit, but that it exists is certain and has even betrayed good men into acts of injustice.

Lord Cornwallis had a high regard for the principles of justice, and an earnest desire to unite the honour of his country with the interests of the people of India. But while he represented that one third of the Company's territory was a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts, he declared that there was (p.5) no hopes of its improvement by the natives, refusing in this instance to acknowledge the fact which every traveller attested, of the flourishing state of agriculture and the comparative comforts of the people in those parts of India, which remained under the jurisdiction of its own Princes. Almost every where these presented, a

country highly cultivated, and abounding in population. It was only in those countries, which were either under the direct subjection of the British Government, or controlled by its influence, that the inhabitants were reduced to wretchedness and penury. This would prove the reverse of the assertion that the natives were totally unfit for the administration of justice, or for the management of public affairs. We may say indeed, that acting in conjunction with us, they were corrupt and improper instruments. We may go further and say this was the consequence of a mixed government, composed of a mass of heterogeneous ingredients, which left no where responsibility and bestowed no where confidence; or if it ventured to depart at (p.6) any time from this system and to confide in its agents, they were sure to betray their trust, as they had neither been selected for their abilities nor for their integrity; and were neither subject to fixed laws, nor were their duties explained by exact definitions. This picture is applicable to the Europeans as well as to the natives of that period; but perhaps the former were the most guilty and the least excusable. The natives of Europe and of India are alike subject to the laws of human nature. They are the same when left to the guidance of their own passions and selfish interests. Where there is no restraint and the penalties are vaguely expressed, or removed far off, the fear of punishment becomes so contingent and remote, that it has never in any period, or in any country formed a check on private rapacity, far less has it prevented the robbery of the money of the public. When this was the situation of things in India, it is difficult to say whether the Europeans or the natives were the most forward in disgraceful acts of peculation. (p.7) But there is nothing I believe that ever equalled the treacherous fraud that was committed on Omichund. Place India again in the same situation, remove those checks which the tardy legislature of this country has established, and our countrymen would relapse into their former guilt. None of their former passions are extinguished; they only want the means and the opportunity of again becoming active.

Before the natives are condemned they should have the same time, by selecting men of character and education, and employing them under the same restraints which have been found necessary to preserve the honesty of Europeans. But would this trial be fairly conducted under the circumstances of our Government and the interests of its servants? There is room for hesitation in answering this question; but I have nearly consumed my large sheet of paper and I must reserve a space for a more interesting subject.

I have been delighted by the account of your family. It has excited a great interest both in Mrs Walker's mind and my own.... (same continued for 1 1/2 pages) ... (p.9) ..

I can give you no information of the Meerassy rights. They are proprietors, but with what privileges and immunities I am ignorant.

I congratulate you on the progress you have made with the arrears of India correspondence. It must have been an immense and useful labour. The Company's tables have always been covered with unanswered letters. (It is hard to say whether (p.10) this has been a greater injustice to individuals or to the public.)

What are the principal topics which you are likely to touch upon at Bombay ? The affairs of that settlement have not altered attracted much of the public attention: perhaps not a fair share; but they are daily becoming of more importance. You have taken no notice in the History of the transactions which established us in Guzerat and extended our influence to the Indus, the boundary of Alexander's expedition. The consequences of this connexion are likely to be very extensive. The measures which were pursued in Guzerat were perhaps marked (?) by some singular features. They were undertaken and they were conducted with good faith and integrity. (They were managed rather to produce good and to secure public eclat.) They laid open for the first time the whole of the details and wretched machinery of a native government; (p. 11) but the Company's records will supply you with ample information on this subject.

James Mill Esq. A Walker.

22.(vii) Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill

Edinburgh,

14th March 1820.

My Dear Sir

I have been called in here to attend the election of a member of Parliament for the county and have brought with me the last of the remarks that I have made while reading your History. The best way is to send them on to you at once. They will shew at least my desire to comply with your wishes. The confidence with which I exposed these hasty effusions to your eye will be a proof of the high opinion I entertain of your liberality and candour. In reading them you will keep in mind the circumstances under which they have been written and make all the allowance which a hasty composition requires. I am not so much attached to any opinion as I am to truth and I shall be most thankful to you to tell me of my errors. I am quite aware that you have bestowed on this subject all the efforts of a powerful mind and the greatest of extent of enquiry and research. I have not time at present to tell you what I think and have yet to say on the rest of your book. (p.2) I have still a long letter to write you which I must delay until I return home. Meanwhile I shall be happy to find a letter from you when I get back as I shall be anxious to learn how far any of the ideas thrown out on these sheets appear to you just or otherwise. I would also beg to remind you of the caution and reserve which it is necessary to observe on the freedom with which I have spoken of some of the authors quoted in your work. As men they may most (?) actually do bear the most respectable character. I am almost tempted to tear out the remarks that I have allowed to slip from my pen on any individual; but they will repose safely in your bosom. Every other remark indeed that I have made is meant solely for your own mediation. I have never to any person communicated so freely my loose and unrevised (?) opinions as I have done to you.

(p. 3) I am at present in a situation which prevents more writing. The noise of a town and the bustle preparatory to an election are quite hostile to leisure and reflection.

I omitted to tell you in my last the age of my eldest boy. I was obliged to enquire and forgot the enquiry; he is not quite 7, but discovers an intelligent mind and a very considerable desire for instruction. I know nothing I am so anxious to perform as this duty to my children and I shall hope to have the benefit of your advice on the subject.

Mr Mill.

22.(viii) THE SPOILS WHICH WE HAVE BROUGHT FROM INDIA PROBABLY EXCEED A HUNDRED FOLD ALL THAT OUR PREDECESSORS HAVE TAKEN BY FITS AND STARTS. WE HAVE EMPTIED GRADUALLY, BUT THE PITCHER WAS GONE CONSTANTLY TO THE WELL

Col. Alexander Walker to J. Mill

Bowland,

8th April 1820

My Dear Sir

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 20th of last month. I am quite aware of the pressure and importance of public business which requires your attention. I thank you however very sincerely for your kind sentiments. There is no person whose opinion I respect and value more. A letter from you when you have leisure will always be a high treat and gratification to me. I shall make you in future pay for all my bulky and indigested effusions; nor is this a vain threat as you may experience to your cost.

I have read your History with attention. Of the narrative part I shall say nothing at present farther than to remark, that I cannot easily find terms to express my sense of your vigorous and undeviating pursuit of truth. You are invariably faithful, firm and daring in the exposure of injustice and oppression. This is one of the best, although one of the rarest qualities of an historian, especially of one who writes an account of the transactions of his own times. J...... was in the same situation, and he has not exceeded you in his virtuous detestation of tyranny and bad men. You have thrown a new light on the Government of India, and an interest is now kindled in (p.2) this country which has removed the destructive effects of ignorance and indifference.

I agree with your political instructions and consequences almost in every instance; and particularly with the judgement you have passed on the measures from first to last of the Company's Government and on our subsidiary treaties. I have the vanity to say that I have more than once thought and written in favour of the same doctrine.

The history of Warren Hastings's administration is peculiarly instructive. The effect is quite dramatic. It has destroyed the respect I had of his political character and much of the regard that I had for him as a man. He appears to have possessed in an eminent degree those meritorious qualities which have spread over his name an unmerited luster. With talents unquestionably of the first order he was always ready to employ them for wicked, mischievous and disengeuous purposes. It is impossible to believe that he had not in view to appropriate to his own use, those large sums of money which he ultimately carried to the account of the Company, and which he acquired by fraud and swindling. I had forgiven many of his questionable deeds by attributing them to that political necessity, which is so often improperly urged to excuse vices and crimes; but Warren Hastings seems never to have (p.3) gone out of the way to avoid this pollution, on the contrary to have met it at all times with open arms. It is impossible to pardon his tergiversations, or to palliate the unmeasureable extent to which he carried his revenge and the gratification of some of the worst passions of our nature. I almost think you have damned him with too much mercy.

I shall read again the historical part of the History and perhaps at some future period communicate to you a few remarks, or which would be much more agreeable talk the subject over when we may meet.

You will I fear have thought me a very importunate and perhaps a prejudiced advocate for the people of India. If by prejudice is meant a prepossession in favour of the people and a desire that they should not be judged by partial evidence, I have not much objection to the term. The evidence on which they have been judged is also I might say the effect of prejudice; but more inveterate and dangerous as it is attended by actual and immediate injury. The truth is that few men are without partiality and prejudice. The power of the judgement itself exercised with uncertainty and it is continually discovered by the change of our opinion.

I could not write a panegyric on the people of India nor on any other. All I wish to contend for is that they are like any of the great bodies of mankind and contain in their character a mixure of good (p.4) and bad qualities. This is the case with all the masses of human beings and is not otherwise in India. The only way of forming an accurate judgement of men is by observing their usual mode of life. It has so happened that the native army that portion of Indian population which has fallen more narrowly and closely under our observation than any other. Every one has agreed in allowing to the sepoys not only courage but a large share of moral virtues. They are sober, frugal, modest and obedient; faithful to the service under which they have engaged themselves and attached to their officers. It is not pretended that these qualities are acquired from us, who take no pains to instruct them in any thing except their mere military exercises; besides they possess the same qualities in the service of the native princes. Our European soldiers are too profligate to afford them any thing but lessons. The priviledge of an exclusive military tribe has been long lost in India and the present race of soldiers are drawn indiscriminately from the people at large. How can we doubt that this population of which these sepoys are a part not even selected, but enlisted as in England, should possess the same qualities and good dispositions ? But we came in

contact with the rest of the population of India on very different terms. We only confide to them servile (p.5) and mean offices. We neglect and despise their society. The great body of the people are kept under the constant fear of change and insult. Our courts of justice are surrounded by barriers and forms and expenses, that render them nearly inaccessible. Our revenue officers are continually in pursuit of new sources of revenue. It is the poor and labouring classes in India by whom the direct taxes are almost entirely paid. This forms a singular and an extraordinary feature, as I apprehend, in the circumstances of that people. The diversity of manners and language, every thing in short tends to separate them from us. When they see every effort made to draw from them as many advantages as possible and to establish our superiority by every means is it not to be expected that they will endeavour to close or entangle all the sources of knowledge and of information? This most natural effort to protect themselves has often been attributed to the arts of treachery, and to a covetous disposition; and in short the shifts by which it was supported ascribed to an unusual share of cunning and duplicity. In the moment of disappointment and irritation a report is made, and every thing is laid to the guile and fraudulent (p.6) character of the natives. I avoid particular and individual examples but they can be given. My intention is to shew the manner and means by which we have formed, in many cases, our judgement of the people of India; and how we have hastened from some temporary circumstances, affecting at the same time only one part of the society, to make out permanent and general conclusions.

I have great pleasure in quoting the authority of Van Rheede in favour of the natives of India, who devoted more of his time and took better opportunities of becoming acquainted with the genius and pursuits of the people, than any other governor, or perhaps than any other European whatever. As the......Malabaricus is scarce and not even to be met with easily in London I shall transcribe a passage from it; but the whole of that splendid work is a testimony of the industry of Van Rheede and of the excellent qualities of the natives. It is

thus that he describes his intercourse with them and their zeal and alacrity to meet his wishes.(p.27)

This extract is longer than I intended but I was unwilling to abridge it and many more remarks are to be found in the Harbus which I think curious. He speak of the distinction of casts, their stoical strictness, their rigid and enviable (?) obligations. This good consequence he says is effected: they prevent a deficiency in any of the arts; parents may hand down to their children as if from one hand to another, whatever instructions are necessary for the perfection of that art and all spend a tranquil and easy life. He mentions the unshaken constancy of their manners and customs for so many ages. With them, he says, these principles were always accounted the most valuable, which tended to render the republic more lasting; and free from all change. I quote in his own words the following sentence which so nearly agrees with the sentiments delivered on the same subject by Sir William Jones."Their theology and policy too (?) so artfully and so prudently coincide, so wisely also are they discriminated, and they support the reputation of each other in such a manner, that to which the preference might be given may be a matter of some doubt." He says the Bramans live in the greatest retirement and harmony and may be considered the (p.8) men in the world. The nobles are numerous and on the whole he concludes "that a change of life and manners is a circumstances neither to be wished for nor expected." Speaking of their government of which Van Rheede was a competent judge, he calls it a republic and talks of a free people blessed with such privileges, that it may seem to be a democracy; it is sufficiently strong to preserve peace and to suppress sedition, "at least so as to prevent them from producing any material change of affairs." Van Rheede pays the follow(ing) tribute to the people of India which certainly places them high above all Indo-Chinese nations. "They do not intermarry with other nations, and yet they most willingly suffer people of all nations, and all religions to live among them. They never overpass their paternal boundaries, nor do they suffer the aggressions of strangers to be repeated with impunity."

I have insensibly made these extracts which appear to me interesting; but you must know the book. As Van Rheede wrote more than 130 years ago, long before any of the topics of Indian controversy were thought of, and was a man of great judgement and candour much (p.9) weight is due to his authority. His acquaintance was chiefly, if not entirely, with Malabar, where foreign manners had made no impression nor had the Mahommedan arms as yet penetrated into that country. Although I have already tired you with these long and desultory opinions, I am still going to add to them.

The Hindus are accused of inhumanity to their fellow creatures while they shew an affect(ionate) care for animal life. I believe I neglected to state their kind and benevolent treatment of slaves as an argument against the former part of this proposition. Were it not indeed for the name of slavery it is stripped there of all its horrors. The slave is considered as a child of the family. He calls his master father. They are seldom punished or severely tasked. They are addressed with some kind and endearing epithet. It is wonderful how much influence a beneficient mode of speaking will have in reconcilling the inequalities and soothing the miseries of human life. Now one of the best proofs of a good disposition is the tender treatment of those who are in our power and at our mercy. There is a general obligation of humanity also towards animals. The Hindus are (p.10) not the only people who have built houses for their occupation (?) after they became infirm or useless. The Turks have hospitals for beasts. The Romans had them for geese; the Athenians gave freedom to the mules who had been serviceable in building a temple; the Egyptians wore mourning at the death of certain animals and Cimon (?) gave an honourable burial to the mares with which he had won three prizes.

The instance which Doctor Buchanan gives of the inhospitality of the Hindus when I bestow upon it a second thought, appears absolutely ridiculous. He complains that he could not but by force obtain a cot for a sepoy who was sick, though he was assured there was one in every house: 2p (?) . Every family had a bed to sleep on; and the Doctor thinks it most barbarous that those inhabitants did not deprive their wives and children of this convenience and oblige them to lie on the cold ground in order to accommodate the wants of the sepoy. Besides there was something in the purpose of the demand absurd. Instead of requiring a cot for a litter, the first and natural expedient would have been to have taken the sepoy camb(?) or cloak and converted it into a carriage or hammock (p.11) bed by hanging it from a bamboo. This the sepoy could have told him, if he had any experience, and was such a litter as he must often have seen. But bring the case home among ourselves and to this hospitable country of our own. Would any person think it a reasonable proposition if he was asked to surrender his bed to a straggling soldier who should require it to be conveyed comfortably on to his quarters. To obtain this I believe it would require the Doctor's argument, the ultimo ratio...(?) forces. The inhabitants might just as well have expected the Doctor to have lent the sepoy his own cot or his planquin; but how many other expedients ought he to have tried before he thought of taking their beds from the inhabitants.

The charge of covetousness is another favourite theme against the Hindus; but by whom are they charged with this vice? By Europeans the most covetous race of men; by those who visit India for a gain, who strip the natives of their wealth and then accuse them of avarice because they withhold the remainder. In all the arts of amassing money we equal or excell the Hindus. This subject would require a dissertion.

Litigiousness is another accusation (p.12) against the Hindus arising much out of European injustice. I think you have ably elucidated this subject, although you have allowed the accusation to remain. Those can only be called litigious who have an inclination to vexatious suits. A person does not deserve the term who enters into a juridical contest for the protection of his property, or the security of his right. In this he is guided by a love of justice and a respect for the first principles of society. We have the testimony of Sir H. Strachey, that in 95 suits out of 100, the parties who institute them have just grounds of complaint. You

have traced the origin of this accusation to its genuine source: the inadequate and defective means which we have established in India for the administration of justice. This subject would afford room for many severe observations. We refuse an establishment for the assertion of the most natural rights of society.

I have a good deal of difficulty to make up mind with respect to the wealth of India. Like every thing in the shape of riches and happiness or any other great good, it has been exaggerated. In all ages however the riches of India (p.13) have been proverbial. This term is easily understood when it is applyed to the natural abundance and fertility of the soil; but it is not so obvious when it is made to embrace the precious metals. India has no mines to any extent either of gold or silver. It is indebted for all that it possesses to the returns of commerce and there is a constant influx in exchange for the manufactures and natural productions of the country. These cause a regular and uninterrupted accumulation. There must be some means of bringing back into circulation this superabundant wealth. Unhappily as yet conquest and violence have been the only expedients for this purpose. This did not begin with the expedition of Alexander and it has been continued down to our time by a regular series. It has been computed that Nader Shah carried out of India 30 million sterling; this was besides all that was consumed, destroyed and plundered; but the spoils which we have brought from India probably exceed a hundred fold all that our predecessors have taken by fits and starts. It would be a curious calculation to ascertain the amount of the wealth which has been brought by the Company (p.14) and individuals from India. This could include property of every description; but from the amount must be deducted the specie and the value of the cargoes which have been sent from this country. The drains which we have made from India have been less violent than the exactions of other conquerors, but they have perhaps in their operations proved more destructive and deadly to the people. We have emptied gradually, but the pitcher has gone constantly to the well.

Although the riches of India may have been exaggerated I still think they have been great. The low state of the finances of the Princes is not a sufficient proof to the contrary. These are all taken from times of distress and desolation. But this is not a safe guide at any rate, as many causes may exhaust the treasure of kings and yet preserve the wealth of their subjects. There are individuals in India of immense wealth. I know a single shroff who entered into a contract to supply cash for the payment and expenses of our army and to furnish coins of the currency of the country into whatever part the chances of war might lead it. This he performed monthly and punctually. All the revenue of India is collected (p.15) in gold and silver. It is often sent out of the province in which it is collected and I have wondered how it got back again as sometimes the means were not visible. Tippoo and the old king of Prussia are the only princes in our days who have laid up stocks of treasure. The revenues of both were at the same time small, they had large armies to maintain and expensive wars to defray. It was not because Tippoo was unable, that his supplies were unpaid for but because he was unwilling. Perhaps he did not want them, or it was a proof of his avarice and folly. I expect you to laugh at some of these speculations; but I write to you in a spirit of idle communication.

I must now say a few words on a far more important subject. My most serious and anxious thoughts are to give my boys a good education or rather to make them clever men. Their intellectual powers are capable I think of receiving instruction and the crime must be mine if their faculties should remain uncultivated. I am unwilling to pursue a private system beyond this year and I would prefer an English school as I think there is a more manly way of thinking in that country than in Scotland. In the (p.16) meanwhile I am certain they have thus far been better instructed than if they had been at a public school. The school that I have

as yet thought of is that of Houghton le Spring. It has a good reputation; but that may be obtained with little merit. I have paid it a visit and found the master a man of a vigorous and acute mind. Still I find it difficult to make a choice and more so to lay down a system which may be pursued untill the object is completed. The term of modern education now lasts at most twenty years; a fearful period. Milton seems to disapprove of spending 7 or 8 years in merely scraping together so much Latin and Greek, as might, he says, be learnt easily and delightfully in one year. It is this he observes which has generally made learning so unpleasing and so unsuccessful. Admitting this all to be true I do not see how the mischief is to be remedied. One is afraid of an experiment. I would wish to profit by your experience and would beg of you to give me your fullest advice. It is only elementry things that we are concerned with at present; but I should esteem it a great favour to hear from you what ought to be a course of study and reading untill the mind is formed or qualified to direct itself. (p.17) What is short should be done first and what last? The easiest arts ought to be taught first but explain to me that kind of knowledge which should be so acquired and the manner of attaining it.

Ever faithfully yours

(A. Walker)

James Mill Esq.

23 . ALEXANDER WALKER'S IMAGE OF INDIA :c.1820

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland : Walker of Bowland Papers; Manuscript in Walker's hand (possibly incomplete)

1. India was divided into a great many small governments. Every chief was called a Raja and exercised on independent jurisdiction. What must have been the effect of this multitude of authorities on the government and condition of the people? Was it calculated to produce on the rulers a moderate or an arbitrary use of power? In this division into small societies, the communities are checks upon the Princes and the Princes on each other. Would this not tend to abate the violence of these petty sovereigns and render them less liable to prey on the property of their subjects? This consequence might to expected, as they would be continually in want of the assistance of their subjects to guard them against the attacks of their numerous rivals and neighbours: to assist them in their objects of aggression and ambition which would be more frequently presented to them from the nature and constitution of this state of society. We find that this division of a country into small governments was favourable in Greece and in Italy to freedom and to the rights of the people.

2. Europeans have yet formed but very inadequate and imperfect notions of the state of society and of civilisation in India. One great and the only true means of judging, they hardly or ever have enjoyed. This is the conversation and intercourse with the natives in their houses; in the midst of their families and in their private way of life. It is perhaps from

the general conversation of the people and their usual domestic habits from which the best judgement can be formed of the state of their society. For want of this advantage many humane and able men have seen nothing in the character of the people of India but what is discreditable to human nature. They have found only bad qualities and so many of them, that it would be difficult to say which predominates. They have forgot also, that the manners of Europeans, and their degrading treatment of the natives, must banish from their company natives of spirit and of high pretensions. We can only collect and surround ourselves with the villains and mercenary wretches of the country. In fact it has become the interest and from thence the habit of the Company's servants to misrepresent the natives of India; to hold them forth as men who disregard every divine and human laws; who neglect the most solemn ties and obligations; who cheat and rob and are guilty of the blackest ingratitude. It was by this means that Lord Cornwallis was misled, who had a high regard for the principles of humanity and earnest desire to unite the honour of his country with the interests of the people of India. At the time that he put the seal on the degradation of the natives by declaring that the administration of justice would be nugatory, while its execution depended upon any native whatever. The government of the native states and our own formed the strongest contrast in favour of the former. He was informed, by the voices of our Government which he represented, [Bengal] to be the most depraved and iniquitous, and scrupled not to assert "that one third of the Company's territory in Hindostan, was jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts." At this period every traveller into those parts of India which remained under the jurisdiction of its own princes unite in the warmest praise of the flourishing stage of agriculture and the comparative comforts enjoyed by the people. The dominions even of Tippoo are described as offering indications of good government. They presented a country highly cultivated and abounding in population. The lands of the

Mahrattahs were also in a high state of cultivation. **It was in Bengal, in Oude, and in the Carnatic or such countries as were either under direct subjection of the British Government, or controlled by its influence, that the inhabitants were reduced to wretchedness and penury**.* Can we affirm after this with truth that the natives were unfit for the administration of justice and of managing the administration of their country? We may say indeed that acting in conjunction with us, they were corrupt and improper instruments. We may go further and say, that this was the consequence of a mixed government, composed of a mass of heterogeneous ingredients, which left no where responsibility, and which bestowed no where confidence; or if it ventured to depart from this system and to confide in its agents, they were sure to betray their trust, as they had neither been selected nor for their abilities, nor for their integrity, and were neither subject to fixed laws nor were their duties explained by exact definitions. There was no check provided for their crimes, and virtue, if a virtuous example at that period ever occurred, it received no encouragement. This picture is no less applicable to Europeans than to natives, and perhaps the former were the most guilty and the least excusable. But what does the picture prove? It only adds another record of the infirmity of our nature. The natives of Europe and of India are alike subject to the laws of human nature. When left to the entire guidance of their passions and selfish interests neither are to be trusted. We are taught a melancholy but true lesson which reflects not more on Hindus than on Englishmen.

The conversation of the natives in their domestic circles, which I have had many opportunities of observing, is cheerful but not licentious; it generally embraces all the topics which concern ordinary life; it enlarges, especially among the Hindus, on ethical and moral duties; the latter people are also fond of indulging in metaphysical disquisitions, and all converse with freedom and intelligence on the affairs or politics of the country. I have observed that even the behaviour and conversation of prostitutes, are distinguished by propriety and decency.

3. The treatment of slaves in India and generally throughout Asia is kind and benevolent. Were it not indeed for the name slavery is stripped of its horrors in these countries. The slave is considered as a child of the family. He calls his master father. They are seldom punished or severely tasked and generally addressed with kindness. It is wonderful how much influence a kind mode of speaking will have in reconciling the inequalities and soothing the miseries of human life. He who adopts an opposite course is ignorant of human nature, and raises obstacles against himself.

4. The covetousness of the Hindus. Who accuses them of this vice? Europeans - the most covetous of men. Having been led by an inordinate desire of gain to visit India, they proceeded to strip the natives of their wealth, and charged them with avarice when they chose to protect the remainder. In all the arts of acquiring and amassing money we far excel the Hindus. I am afraid our arts are not less fraudulent. They are now supplanted or rivalled in their own country by British traders and shop-keepers. Has this been the consequence of superior skill and intelligence? The superior enterprise and knowledge of our countrymen may be admitted; but it is to be observed, that as they have got the better of the natives only in those situations in which the power or influence of the British Government prevails, the rivalship has been decided rather by the advantages of their situation, than by the fair

competition of talents. Their connexion with the Government and their knowledge of its wants, afforded the British merchant opportunities, from which the native was entirely excluded. This was as often to the disadvantage of Government as it was to the profit of its European subject who was also frequently its servant. It is further to be observed that the European trader generally began to raise himself by the credit and experience of the native merchant; but as he acquired wealth, independence and experiences himself, he either laid aside his associate, not unfrequently his benefactor, or reduced him to a state of subordination and subserviency. It is not uncurious to see in these private transactions, the same result, the same operation and management, which have enabled us to get the better of the governments of India.

5. The litigiousness of the natives of India. This is another accusation arising from prejudice and European injustice. Those can only be called litigious who have an inclination for vexatious suits. This name then does not apply to a person who engages in a judicial contest for the protection of his property or the security of his rights. In this pursuit he is guided by a love of justice, and a respect for the first principles of society. Minds the most distinguished by rectitude and a spirit that hates inequity, will be the most eager to appeal to the laws for the redress of their wrongs. We have the testimony of Sir Henry Strachey an Indian Judge of great experience, that in ninety five suits out of a hundred, the parties who instituted them, have just grounds of complaint. The origin of this accusation against the

Hindus I conceive may be traced to a genuine source. The inadequate and defective means which we have established in India for the administration of justice. To a population equalling that of France and Germany, the judicial powers are confined to about 300 individuals, who are neither trained to the business by education nor experience. They are fettered at the same time by tedious and corrupted forms, while their proceedings are retarded by the difficulties of a foreign language. These circumstances would be sufficient to embarrass the most determined and enlightened men who had but light duties to discharge; and for the discharge of which also they had been prepared by previous nurture and training. But what must be the case when every thing is the reverse of this; when the duties are onerous and devolve upon men who are neither fitted by instruction, nor have gained knowledge by practice; who are unacquainted with the nature of their labour and impatient under its exercise. They consider every accession to their trouble as an intolerable hardship and grievance. The natives who apply to these courts for relief and protection, are viewed as the authors of all their distress and molestation. Complaints are received with discouragement, and the scornful eye of the judge tells them that hey are unwelcome suitors. At the same time the judicial powers are confined to so few a hands, that all the abilities, fitness and inclination on their part, would be insufficient for the equal and complete diffusion of justice through such extensive dominions, filled by an immense population, and diversified by a variety without end of manners and languages. The consequence is that justice is not administered and that the half of the causes that come before the courts are never tried, or delayed so long that the parties despair of a decision. This leads to another

consequence. The parties in a state of despair proceed to redress their own grievances; feuds and disputes ensure which end in criminal prosecutions. **It is this defect in the administration of justice, that has brought about in Bengal, a system of robbery, cruelty, and murder, unknown to any other part of India and unknown in Bengal until it became subject to our Government**.* The system is in fact favorable to all acts of oppression and injustice. The difficulty of obtaining redress increases the temptation and the opportunities of committing injuries. It enables one man to withhold or invade the rights of another almost with impunity, by the expense and the delay of bringing him to justice. By multiplying the moans of committing wrong, it augments the injuries which require redress, and produces in reality the appearance of litigiousness with which the natives of India are so unjustly charged.

The remedy for all this mischief and disorder is natural and easy. It would only be necessary to increase the number of the courts and by making them equal to the wants of the people to clear from impediments their access to justice. This remedy in fact has been repeatedly urged and proposed. Their has been no objection made to it, but that the extension of a European agency would be too expensive and the natives are too corrupt and venal to be employed. I have shown in my answers to the queries of the Court of Directors that the last plea has no proper foundation. A period of universal relaxation, is a period of universal corruption. Where there is no restraint, and the penalties are vaguely expressed, or removed far off, the fear of punishment becomes so contingent and uncertain, that it has never a rapacity, far less has it prevented the robbery of the money of the public. When this was the

case in India it is difficult to say whether the Europeans or the natives were the most forward in disgraceful acts of peculation. There is nothing I believe that ever equalled the treacherous fraud which was committed on Omichand. All that we have charged the natives with, never amounted to this iniquitous act. Place India again in the same situation, remove those checks which the tardy legislature of the British Parliament has imposed, and our countrymen would relapse into their former guilt. The natives may be affirmed to have been condemned without a trial, which must be the case until we have tried them under the same restraints which have been found necessary to preserve the honesty of Europeans. At present we do them all manner of injustice to accuse them of corruption without giving them an opportunity of being honest. Before men can prove their fidelity they must be trusted. By carefully excluding the natives of India from every office of honour and emoluments, we deprive them of their benefits which human nature every where aspires to. By this exclusion and by this loud and public testimony of discredit and of a want of confidence in their faith, all the worst passions must necessarily be excited. They become stamped with the character which we have proclaimed. If they are after this dishonest who can blame them? If we are destroyed has it not been merited.

But to return to the remedy for correcting this state of disorganisation, and which it is the duty of every government, even the worst, to provide. It is stated to be too expensive to employ a sufficient number of Europeans and the natives, who might be engaged for less money, are unfit to be trusted. **In other words the revenues of India are declared to be unequal to satisfy the avarice of the Company and their servants and to pay for the administration of justice. One of the two objects must be sacrificed and we are not ashamed to give the preference to our own interest: that of the people is abandoned. We make no scruple to live on their substance and to appropriate to our own use the wealth of the country; but it cannot afford the expence of an establishment or the assertion of the most natural rights of society***.

6. The wealth of India. In all ages the riches of India have been proverbial. This term is easily understood when it is applied to the natural abundance and extraordinary fertility of the soil and climate. It is not so obvious when it is made to embrace the precious metals. India in fact has no mines of any extent either of gold or silver. It is indebted for what it possesses of those metals to the returns of commerce, of their constant influx in exchange for the manufactures and natural productions of the country. These cause a regular and uninterrupted accumulation. As the natives of India have few wants which other nations can supply, conquest and violence seem always to have been necessary for the circulation of their superabundant wealth. This did not begin with the expedition of Alexander, but we know that he has had many successors and there is no reason for thinking that we shall be the last. **It has been computed that Nadir Shah carried out of India 30 millions sterling, but the spoils of the East India Company have probably exceeded that sum a hundred fold. It would be a curious calculation to ascertain the amount of the wealth which has been brought by the Company and individuals into Europe from India. This would include property of every description. From the amount would be deducted the specie and the value of the cargoes which have been sent from this country. the drain which we have made from India have been less violent then the exactions of other conquerors, but they have perhaps in their operation proved more destructive and deadly to the people. They have emptied gradually, but the pitcher has gone constantly to the well. There has been no relaxation. The demand has been regular and unremitting.***

The riches of India, although great, have probably been exaggerated. This is the natural effect of a high reputation for any thing. **An attempt has been made to prove that they have not only been exaggerated, but that India ever has been in a state of miserable and contemptible poverty. What has been said on this subject, I look rather upon as asserted, than proved. The principal proof has been taken from the state of the revenue and the lowness of the finances of the Princes. These have constantly disappointed the avaricious views of the Company, who instead of immense wealth have generally found only empty and exhausted coffers. The instances in favour of this judgement, have been I conceive partially and inaccurately selected. They have been selected from times of distress and desolation. These can never be adduced as criterions of the general circumstances of the country. It would have been much fairer to have selected examples from times of prosperity and peace. Neither is the state of the treasure of princes a safe guide for judging of the affluence of their subjects. Many causes may exhaust the former which may preserve the latter***. A parsimonious prince will hoard and save money. This was the case with Tippoo. He paid to the allies in money 3 millions sterling. I am uncertain whether any sovereign in Europe would have produced the same sums promptly as he did for the ransom of his capital. If we consider the long and expensive wars in which Hyder and Tippoo were engaged, the great armies they maintained, and the comparative smallness of their revenue, the sums which Tippoo was found to possess must appear very extraordinary. Yet it has been insinuated that he was poor and that poverty was the general characteristical of India. This it has been inferred was the case because Tippoo *could* not pay for his supplies. It would have been correct to have said, that he *would* not. This was a proof of his avarice and folly.

24. (i) FIRST BRITISH ATTEMPT AT CONQUEST OF BURMA AND TALK OF GENERAL UNREST IN INDIA - A GOVERNOR GENERAL REPORTS TO LONDON:

Leeds Public Libraries: George Canning Papers 80: Governor General Lord Amherst to Mr.George Canning : 23-11-1824.

Lord Amherst to Mr.George Canning: 23-11-1824

Barrackpore

23rd November 1824.

My dear Canning

We are gradually collecting our means for conquering if possible, a peace from the Burmese in the course of the present cold season, but as war has not been carried on since the day of Lord Clive on this side of Bengal and as all our resources are in the Upper Provinces, I scarcely think that operations can fairly commence on the Eastern Frontier before the 1st of January. Meanwhile we are using every exertion to strengthen Sir Archbald Campbell at Rangoon, and it is there, I think, that our chief impression is to be made for what with the impracticability of the country and unwholesomeness of the climate in our Eastern and South Eastern Districts, it is not easy (p) to carry on offensive operations either to a considerable extent or for more than a very limited period of time. I have from the first contemplated this war, the seeds of which were sown a short time before my arrival, as a new page in the history of India*; and although upon the best consideration and reflection, I am not aware that any false step has been taken, I cannot but regard myself as singularly unfortunate to have been left without the assistance of Mr. Adam, the man of all others to whom I should have looked with most confidence for advice in the new situation in which our affairs were placed. It is true that I or some of the servants connected with the Government have been in constant correspondence with him and that

we have the satisfaction of knowing that he has approved of our proceedings. But his absence from Council almost ever since I (p) have been here and during the whole period of our most important discussions has caused me frequently to feel somewhat diffident of the measures we were adopting or at least has deprived me of the sure confidence with which I should have proceeded had they partaken of his immediate concurrence. Another event which I have sincerely deplored is the death of Major Canning. He was the person to whom we confidently looked for the best information on all subjects connected with Ava. On him I depended for the opening and safe conduct of any negociations which might be entered into for settling our differences with the Burmese Government. He was personally known to the King and some of his Court; fully aware of their customs and peculiarities, and more likely than anybody now existing to be able to avail himself of favourable opportunities of bringing (p) them to reason. He was on his voyage to Calcutta from Rangoon fully charged with all the information which we desired to possess, and would have returned with ample instructions for the further prosecution of the war. But the hand of death seized him before he quitted his ship and he landed at Calcutta only to breathe his last without having recovered the power of speech or the apparent use of his faculties.

We have certainly not derived from the occupation of Rangoon, in the month of May last, all the advantages which I think were reasonably to be expected. We did not anticipate that the power of the Burmese Government should be such as to remove from an entire district the whole of it's population as effectually as if it has been swept off from the face of the earth. But one of the expectations which we formed from the possession of

Rangoon has been completely realised. It has (p) entirely withdrawn from our own provinces the presence of a hostile force which, at that season of the year, could not have been removed by any direct exertions even if our force had been collected. The long occupation too of their principal sea port has unquestionably caused considerable inconvenience to our enemy; and the disgrace of bearing a hostile army in possession of the chief commercial mart of the empire, has weakened the respect and obedience paid to the terrific despotism of the Government, and caused insurrections to threaten even the capital itself. I therefore am prone to indulge the hope that much may be affected when danger approaches from Arracan as well as from Rangoon; and if an opportunity is afforded of a fair contest in the field, I shall then be sanguine in my expectations that our superiority in arms once acknowledged, the desire entertained by the King (p) of measuring his strength with us will be finally subdued, and that a secure and unmolested frontier, our only object in this war, will be at length obtained.

The opinion entertained in England of the profound tranquility of Hindostan did not prepare me for the inflammable materials of which I now find Central and Western India is composed. It is incredible with what avidity reports have been received and spread in the Upper Provinces of signal defeats sustained by us at the very gates (if there were such things) of Calcutta - how prophets have sprung up announcing the extinction of the British Power - and, what is more serious, disturbances, not to say insurrections, have broken out in various parts of the Country. It is true that the leading native Government, that (p) of Scindea, appears not to have given much credit to these rumours. It is true that Ranjeet Sing would seem rather to be directing his attention towards Caubul than to be

willing to take any advantage of the supposed embarrassment or the British Government; but in the neighbourhood of Delhi there has been a defiance of our authority - In Rohilcund an extensive assemblage of marauders who went about proclaiming our downfall, untill dispersed by the gallantry of some of our civil as well as military servants - a Pindarrie sprung up on the Nerbudda, though I hope he is by this time suppressed - and in Jyepore there still exists a spirit which I am not satisfied will yield to any other than coercive measures with whatever reluctance I should resort to them. Jyepore indeed is, and I think will be a source of trouble and inconvenience to us, the more so as our interference at all is a question of doubtful policy, and whether we recede or advance we equally encounter perplexity and embarrassment. (p) In this part of India too we have had the misfortune to lose some of our best Agents at a moment when their services were most wanted; and it is just now that we are compelled to urge Mr.Jenkins to remain at Nagpore though his health requires that he should visit the Western Coast. We must be prepared to hear of further disturbances in the Western Provinces. The rains have failed this year, and the scarcity in some places amounts, in consequence, almost to famine. It has been deemed advisable to augment our force of irregular horse in that part of the Country. This answers the double purpose of giving us further means of putting down insurrection, and employing, to our own advantage, the very men whose swords would be turned against us*.

I read with great interest, as you may suppose, the debate on the Indian Press, and cannot tell you how grateful I feel to you for the kind and handsome manner in which you spoke of me. I care not how often I am attacked as long as I am so defended. I wrote very fully to Wynn a short time ago upon the subject, and pointed out to him some of the gross falsehoods to which Mr. Buckingham had given circulation. Mr. Arnot, I see by the shipping report, has taken his passage to England in the Mellish. He applied lately to be suffered to remain in India, and I would have consented to it, notwithstanding the charge of inconsistency to which we should have been open, could I have had any satisfactory assurance of his being usefully or even harmlessly employed at Calcutta. I certainly have had no (p) occasion to change the opinion which I formed in England, that a wholly unrestricted press could not be tolerated in India. I am willing to hope that you will not find the power of the Government abused during my administration and I trust you will approve my having permitted, contrary to the opinion of some of my advisers, the publication in our newspapers of the debate on Lambton's motion. But before the state of our press is assimilated to that of England, so should our Government be also; and I cannot conceive but that the greatest evil would ensue from such a latitude as Mr. Buckingham is disposed to advocate. The only valuable opinion which I ever received in favour of an unrestricted press was from Smith, formerly our Advocate-General. Pray ask him if he remembers telling me as we were walking in Grosvenor Street (p) that you might as well expect to see a Hindoo wear leather breaches as to be influenced by a newspaper. Now the fact is that all the Cavalry do wear leather breaches - such is the progress of events since Smith was here.

I have lately received 4 letters from you recommending Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Mellish and M. Miches and Mr. Tierany. The first wrote to me honestly confessing that though enjoying a lucrative situation in the Nagpore subsidiary force, he was still hampered by the effects of early extravagance. If I can do anything to help him, it shall be done. The second dined with me during the few days he remained at Calcutta previously to going up the country to join his Regiment. The third belongs to Madras and is therefore removed from my immediate patronage. The 4th I keep in my eye together with his two brothers, all recommended to me by Sir Matthew.

I did not think when I sat down to have written you so long a letter. I (p) hope William is going on to your satisfaction.

Believe me my dear Canning

Sincerely and affectionately yours,

sd. Amherst

I do assure you I am not becoming a tiger - and yet I have just seen a memorial to the Court of Directors from Mr.Macnaghten, son of Sir Francis, in which he likens me to the wolf in the table, and to the judges in Hell, and doubts if he could remain in safety in Calcutta while I am there, and all because it appeared just not only to Meno's but to Qacus and Rhadamanthus also (for we are three in Council) that he should be temporarily suspended for an act of insubordination.

24. (ii) DEFENDING PLAN OF WAR WITH BURMA - Lord Amherst to Mr. George Canning, 8.8.182

Leeds Public Libraries Archives: George Canning Papers 80: Governor General Amherst to Mr.George Canning: Calcutta : 8-8-1825.

Private and Confidential

Calcutta

8 August 1825

My dear Canning

I believe you know me well enough to take upon yourself to say that I should not complain if a better man than myself were sent to govern India. But what I should complain of is if I were adjudged, upon the authority of private letters from Calcutta, which Wynn tells me may be the case, to have been the cause of the Burmese War or to have misconducted its' operations.

I have had infinite pleasure in reading a memorandum which Wynn transmitted to me from the Duke of Wellington. It contains the plan of a campaign for the *next* season, drawn up under a misapprehension for which I am at a loss to account, that we intended acting on the defensive only during the last. You will know, long before you receive this, that we have not only anticipated the plan which suggested itself to the Duke's mind, but that we have exceeded it beyond the spirit if not to the letter. Where we have not executed it beyond to the letter it is because natural obstacles, with which the Duke was unacquainted, prevented its' accomplishment. But I think we occupy a position on which the most sanguine minds would scarcely have calculated in the month of January last; and if we are not able to conquer a peace, we will at least shew, if the health of our troops is preserved, that we can dismember an Empire.

I remember well its' being said most justly before I left England that if a Conqueror were wanted in India I was not the man who would have been selected to go there. To be sure not - I would have declined the task then and am willing to relinquish it now. But it is not my fault if I have not had to administer a peaceful government. I defy any man to read over the correspondence and to say that every measure was not resorted to avert the war. I shrink not from any investigation of the mode in which it has been conducted; and as success is with most people the criterion of the wisdom of a measure, I am willing that the results of the last campaign shall determine the question whether or not it has been judiciously conducted. The Commander in Chief will soon be at home to stand any examination to which he may be submitted.

Having written pretty fully to Wynn in answer to his letter, and thinking it probable you may see that answer, I shall not trouble you further than to repeat that no man will be more ready than myself to give place to another more fitted to encounter the difficulties against which I shall yet have to continue provided my removal be not accompanied with a sentence of condemnation on the authority of private correspondence. I cannot feel sufficiently thankful to you and to the King's Government for the support which you have already afforded me.

Believe me ever My dear Canning faithfully and affectionately yours Amherst.

24. (iii) NEAR-DISMEMBERMENT OF BURMA, AND FALL OF BHURTHPORE - Lord Amherst to Mr.George Canning, 9.4.1826

Leeds Public Libraries Archives: George Canning Papers: 80 Governor General Amherst to Mr. George Canning: Barrackpore: 9-4-1826.

Barrackpore
9th April 1826

My dear Canning

I told you in a former letter that we would dismember an Empire if we could not conquer a peace. I have sometimes regretted that I used those expressions, qualified as they were, because I think it unwise to venture a prophecy, and unbecoming to use what sounds like boastful language. But I have kept my work. One of the alternatives has been accomplished. **We have at length conquered, within four marches of the Capital, an honorable and advantageous, and I would fain believe, a lasting peace.**

The most satisfactory proofs have lately been afforded us, if more indeed were wanting, that war with the English was the favorite measure of the Court. In the prosecution of this ambitious design, the spirit of the nation has been broken and it's treasury exhausted. The Burmese now acknowledge our superiority and appear to be anxious to live with us on friendly terms. Our frontier is secured, while commercial relations are opening to a far greater extent than heretobefore, and in quarters not yet resorted to by British ships. Without any undue extention of our own territory to the Eastward (for we look to the restoration of former independent Governments) without embroiling ourselves I trust in political connections with the Indo-Chinese Countries, without even destroying the salutary balance of power which has hitherto existed between (p) Ava and Siam, we have laid the foundation of highly beneficial intercourse with both those nations should their present friendly dispositions continue, or of keeping them both in check in the improbable event of either of them hereafter having recourse to hostilities.

We are beholden to Sir Archibald Campbell for the conclusion of the war in Ava. His activity and perseverance in the field and I may add the facilities which he afforded for opening negociations and his firmness in conducting them, entitle him to a distinguished mark of His majesty's favour which I trust will ever long be conferred upon him.

The commencement of this year is rendered even memorable in India by the fall of Bhurthpore. I am bold to say that under all circumstances no event could have occurred by which the foundations of our power in this Country are so effectually secured. It was supposed by many that those foundations were exposed to hazard by the war in Ava. The assemblage of one of the finest armies ever seen in upper India, while the war raged to the Eastward went far to dissipate that illusion. But still, to native minds, Bhurtpore was the barrier to the further progress of our arms. While Bhurtpore existed, there was always a rallying point for disaffection. Tranquility was not firmly established as long as it was believed there was a place in India which our utmost efforts could not subdue. The desperate resistance made by the usurper and his troops was sufficient to manifest our superiority when opposed hand to hand, while the prudent operations of Lord Combermere before ordering the assault, achieved this conquest at an expence of lives far within the lowest calculation in which we (p) could venture to indulge. The capture of the

Usurper secures us against the chance of future mischief from his adherents if any there be, and the placing the rightful Rajah on the throne will prove to neighbouring as well as to distant states that this great object has been undertaken and effected not with a view to our own aggrandisement.*

The knowledge of my intended recall has procured for me, in a variety of ways, the most unequivocal contradiction to the assertion of Mr.Hume and Mr.Buckingham that a general dissatisfaction with me and my measures prevailed in Calcutta; and I feel assured that if, notwithstanding the more favourable accounts brought by the last arrivals, the next ships should confirm the news of an intended change in the Government of (p) India, my departure will not be regarded with indifference, nor shall I be classed low amongst those who have upheld the honor, promoted the interests, and increased the strength of Great Britain's Eastern Empire.

Believe me ever My dear Canning

Sincerely and Affectionately yours,

Amherst.

25. HOW INDIA WAS ADMINISTERED; EVIDENCE OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH, (PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OFINDIA: 4 TIMES DURING 1830 - 58)

House of Commons papers: June, 1852

Q:2231:A: Power of Board of Control:

(if) a letter "was not sent in a fortnight, the Board might themselves send out a letter".

Q:2243:A: But the board of Control have practically in their hands the whole government of India; if they see that no letter is written upon a subject upon which they think a letter ought to be written, they direct the court to write such a letter, or the terms may be arranged in a interview with the chairs; I have before now written a letter for the chairs, and it has come up in draft.

Q:2254:A: If the letter does not come within a fortnight, they write it themselves, and send it out; and if a letter come up, they alter it as they please.

Q:2254:A: The court of Directors has in fact, no authority.

Q:2265:A: P.C.s [Previous communication between Company and Board] originating with Henry Dundas.

Q:2269:A: Court's protests if recorded, and thus be capable of being placed before parliament would be quite destructive to the government of India if they had that power.

Q:2271:A: Orders sent through the Secret Committee sent upon the responsibility of the Queen's government.

Q:2274:A: I by no means consider that the chairman and deputy chairman, merely because they have been elected to these offices by the court, are the best persons for the president of the Board of control to consult; the mere election by such a body as the court of directors does not confer knowledge or authority.

Q:2275:A: (Do you know any body which would be better able to give the president of the Board information than the court of directors, as a body, taking their experience, varied as the members of the Court are?.) A great deal better. I can recollect perfectly well when I had a most difficult matter to form an opinion upon; I went not to the court, not to any member of it, but I went to a gentleman who I know had been a most distinguished public servant in India, Sir Richard Jenkins; and when I found that his opinion concurred with my own, it was a matter of indifference to me what opinion the court of directors entertained, and I always made it my practice to go to the man who happened to be most competent to form an opinion, in order to get his opinion on all subjects upon which I wished to form my own.

Q:2279:A: I would not decline to consult, on all occasions, the chairman and deputy chairman, if I thought they were capable of giving me a better opinion than I could get elsewhere; but if I could get a better opinion elsewhere, I should go elsewhere; as president of the Board of Control, it was my duty to go to the best sources I could for information, and that was the practice I adopted.

Q:2280:A: When I first went to the Board of Control the gentleman who occupied the situation of Clerks were amongst the most distinguished public servants I had ever seen.

Q:2282:A: I believe that in Bengal, and certainly in Madras and Bombay, a civilian who got through all the subordinate offices, and his fair share of the higher offices under the government, (p.229) will hardly be able to make more than 20,000 L in the course of his service; a seat in the Council enables him to make 20,000 L, or 30,000 L more. That is the great reward; and I think it highly desirable that that great reward should continue to exist.

Q:2307:A: **The higher the class from which you take the officers of the Indian government, the greater the security for the constant connexion between India and England ... The Committee must recollect that our hold upon India rests altogether upon the superior ability and the superior character of the European. If that be diminished, in the same degree, our hold over the country is diminished, and if that should altogether go, it will be perfectly impossible for us to retain our power over the country. It is by the supremacy of the mind that we hold the country, and by that alone.***

Q:2310:A: You have more means of improvement in India, and everything that has been done well in India has been done by a few individuals. There have been a few great men, and you have had a body of English gentlemen, civil and military, associated with those few individuals who have occupied the higher positions. **You have had 7,000 or 8,000 English gentlemen all of them endeavouring to forward the service of the state. A few great men, assisted by the emulation of those gentlemen, have done everything in India; it has not been done by Parliament.**

Q:2377:A: **I think that the salaries of the civil servants are well adapted to the nature of the service which they perform, the climate in which they live, and the fair reward which every public servant should have of making some money out of his salary before he retires, for the remainder of his life, to England, and upon which he can exist in ease*.** I do not think the salaries of the service are more than adequate to fulfil these legitimate objects.

26. NOTES ON THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE OF INDIA (EXTRACTS), BY CHARLES RAIKES, 1852

IOL: No. T-5151 pages 270; Magistrate and Collector of Mynpoorie 1852; (written originally for "Benaras Magazine"), extracts.

(p.48) The powerful have in Hindustan, as elsewhere, learned to assert as a right what they could maintain by might. Hence, doubtless, the origin of the king's claim to a share in the produce; a claim readily expended by obsequious jurists to a share in the soil, or eventually to ownership of the soil. And so in India, as well as some western nations, we find the theory that the king is lord of the soil. We do not, however, believe that the claim to ownership of the soil was generally pretended by the Hindoo chiefs or kings; they took what they could get, whether a sixth or a fourth, or any other part of the produce; and they collected this their share according to a system of which the traces exist to this day. (p.56)

(p.56) **Earliest Zamindary Patents 1665 ?** In 1765, about a century after the issue of the earliest Zamindari patents, scarcely a vestige of the village communities was in many places to be found. The greater part of the country was found parceled out into large estates under powerful zemindars. These men, though, as we have seen in reality merely contractors for the revenue, asserted without scruple proprietory right in their entire domains.

One reason may be given for the common, though mischievous error of confounding these zemindaree rights, or rights to collect revenue, with the right of occupation and possession of the lands named in the zemindaree *sunud*. It was natural that the viceroys, in choosing persons for the office of revenue contractor, should prefer men of local influence and experience. It thus happened that the persons who acquired zemindaree rights were often already endowed with rights allodial and hereditary. The most grasping and unscrupulous of the Rajput or Brahmin community, themselves members of a village community, and at the most only *primus inter pares* struggled to obtain the imperial patent, with which, when, they had got it, they exterminated all rights save their own. Such, at least, was the process in Bengal which destroyed the village communities. Amongst the sturdier clans of Behar, Benaras and the Doab, the talookdar did his best to imitate the zemindars of Bengal; but his success, owing to the temper of the people was not so complete. He might harass and depress, but he could not destroy the spirit of the clans. Grants of large tracts in reward of military or political services, occasionally made by the Mahomedans, and frequently by the Mahratta powers, affected the village communities much as the zemindaree grants which we have been describing. Nor were religious and charitable grants over extensive tracts uncommon. In all these cases, it is plain enough that the state can only alienate its own right, viz., the right to collect the land tax, whether payable in money or in kind. But in the general scramble for wealth and power, which began with the decline of the Mogul emperors, the weakest were trampled underfoot and thousands of landed proprietors became mere tenants at will. In short, when the British began to raise their thoughts from silk pieces and cottons, to the magnificent empire which was at their feet, they were fairly puzzled to know to whom the land had belonged, to whom it did belong, to whom it ought to belong. It would be amusing, if it were not sad, to notice the conflicting opinions of those days. Our

friend, Mr. Grant, the Seristadar, asserted that all landed property was vested in the State, Mr. Rouse declared that the zamindars were the real owners of the soil. Warren Hastings had one opinion; Philip Francis had another; Shore different from all. Sorrow came fast upon the communities of Bengal. More than sorrow shame attached to the English policy, which at a later period, by dubbing the zamindars as lords of the soil, forever riveted the chains, which bound down its rightful owners.

(p.57) All sound statesmen in the East saw the necessity for research, before any permanent measures affecting the land revenue could, with safety or justice be adopted. Of this, no man was better aware than Warren Hastings; but unhappily, at this time, any measure which Hastings approved was at once condemned by a powerful and noisy party in England. Philip Francis had recorded his opinion that "without a fixed assessment of the land, no other measures whatsoever can save the country"; (see an elaborate minute of his, stuffed with quotations from Adam Smith, Sir James Stuart, and Montesquieu; Revenue Selections, page 439) On what data this fixed assessment was to be grounded, we cannot tell; but so far as Francis was concerned, it was not to rest upon the basis of sound experiment and enquiry. With characteristic ignorance of Indian subjects, he opposed every proposal for securing the right of the Ryots (by which term the ancient village communities were intended) to the perpetual and undisturbed possession of their lands. **In his opinion, it was impossible to support the ryots without doing injustice to the Zemindars...A landed gentry, a native aristocracy, a class resembling that which Lord Cornwallis adorned at home, seemed indispensable to the carrying out of the home plans. If such a class was not to be found, it must be created...***

p.59) The village communities, who had outlived the convulsions and demise of the Mogul empire, went down to the very dust, to be trampled upon by every village tyrant, to lead a sort of Ishmail life, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them.

(p.67 and p.68) Regulation VII of 1822 and also Regulation IX of 1833. This was the Magna Carta of the village communities. From its date commences a new era in the revenue history of India. Property in the soil, as distinguished from interest in the mal or revenue, was for the first time, clearly recognised.

(p.70) The philosophy of the first settlement was that of the old schoolmen, a dogma was taken up, and matters were driven into agreement with it; The philosophy of the last settlement was of the inductive method. Holt Mackenzie and Robert Bird are the Bacons and Hookers of our revenue schools.

(p.121) So far, then, as the regulation of landed property is concerned there is a common law well known and dear to the people. Happily for them and for us, our revenue legislators have become aware of this; and have atleast enlisted the sympathies of the people in their favour, simply by acting in accordance with those sympathies rather than in spite of them. We say, happily, for one thing is certain, if we would rule the people of India well and wisely, we must rule them in their own way. Legal fictions, John Ros and Richard Does, may suit John Bull (though even he is getting rather restive under them), but they will not do here. "I have tried everything", said a young magistrate to William Frazer, the lamented Commissioner of Delhi. "I have imprisoned, [flogged] and taken security from the people of per gunneh, but I can't keep them quite" "Did you ever try", asked Frazer, "**to let them alone**". Now, this is just the treatment which the Indian village system requires, **to be let alone**. A policy which has stood for 42 centuries whilst half-a-dozen governments have tumbled into dust will outlive anything except needless and officious influence. For us to set to work to improve or alter these institutions, would be about as wise as it would be for the native Indian communities to attempt or regulate the British constitution. The one and the other are alike offspring of circumstances, rather than of design, and both should be left to work out unaided and unfettered the part which Providence has assigned to them.

27. LONDON ON ALLEGED HUMAN SACRIFICE IN HILLY AREAS OF ORISSA

House of Commons Papers: 1856-7, Rev. Despatch: 17.9.1856Note: Not compared with the Original Document

Revenue Department 17 September (No. 12) 1856.

Our Governor -General of India in Council.

Meriah Agency of Ganjam and Orissa.

Para. 1. We now reply to the letters and paragraphs noted in the margin.(India Public Letter 23 December No.95) 1853, p.66,75 and 76; Bengal Public Letter, 4 January (No.1) 1854, p.21,22 and 23; India Public Letter , 10 February (No.9) 1854, p.69,70 and 78; Bengal Public Letter, 15 June (No.30) 1854, p.18; India Public Letter, 18 August (No.67) 1854, p.99, 100 to 108; Bengal Public Letter 28 September (No.43) 1854, p.10 to 12; India Public Letter, 27 October (No.95) 1854, p.46 to 49; Bengal Public Letter, 28 December (No.53) 1854, p.13 and 4; Fort St. George Political Letter, 27 February (No.2) 18555 p.14 and 15; Bengal Public Letter, 7 March (No.4) 1855. p.8; India Public Letter, 26 March (No. 22) 1855, p. 33 to 43; 27 April (No. 31) 1855,p.39, 42 and 46;Bengal Public Letter , 4 July (No. 16) 1855,p.10,11 and 18; India Public Letter. 10 August (No. 66) 1855, p. 16 to 18, 36 to 41; Fort St., George Political Letter, 25 August (No. 66) 1855 11 September (No. 13) 1855, p. 18 to 25; India Public Letter, 22 August (No. 70) 1855, p. 22 to 25, 31, 65 and 66.) reporting proceedings in connexion with the Meriah Agency of Ganjam and Orissa.

2. The reports and diaries from time to time furnished by the agency officers, continue to indicate a steady progress towards the final eradication of the barbarous practice of human sacrifice. Considering the great difficulties to be encountered, we are disposed to consider this progress satisfactory, and as rapid as, under the circumstances could have been anticipated. The Meriah officers appear to have applied themselves to their duties with unremitting zeal and attention; their great experience and personal knowledge, which are of far greater weight than any theoretical rules or doctrines, led them to adopt a line of cautious and gradual inculcation of their views. Hasty measures and abrupt innovations would have been attended with considerable danger, and would rather have postponed than accelerated the attainment of the end in view, by arousing the fears and jealousies of ignorant and fanatical tribes and combining them in hostility against the exertions of the agency officers.

3. Instead of this, it is satisfactory to find that, generally speaking, the chiefs and leading men continue to give their adhesion and co-operation to the principles and measures of the agency. The Khond chiefs have taken a leading part in pledging themselves to abstain from Meriah sacrifices, and the example thus set will, it may be confidently hoped, act beneficially on those tribes whose opposition is scarcely overcome, or whose support and co-operation are but reluctantly yielded.

4. Measures of repression and punishment, however necessary they may be, should always be held subordinate to those of prevention. One of the most powerful among the latter class of measures is education, to which, together with the improvement of communications, and increase of intercourse with civilization, we can look with hope for the rescue of the Hill Tribes from practices which have their origin in ignorance and barbarism, and for the spread of enlightened and human principles.

5. The attention of the Meriah officers has been directed to this important point, and their exertions have met with some success. We regret, however, to observe, that the progress of education received a serious check in Goomsur, which was partly attributed to the withdrawal of magisterial jurisdiction from the Khond Agent, and its transfer to the ordinary officers of police, whereby the influence and authority of the agency officers was weakened. On the urgent representations of Colonel Campbell, the agent, and Captain M Viccar, officiating agent, supported by the recommendation of the Madras Government, you invested the officers of the agency with joint magisterial powers within the sphere of the agency, such powers being confined to cases of Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide exclusively and to be exercised on the same principles as regulate the jurisdiction of officers in the Thuggee department. Under this arrangement the local officers will, we imagine, have no ground of complaint, and we trust that the Khond schools, which had unfortunately been almost entirely closed, will after their reopening, have been carefully encouraged, and no means neglected for regaining the support of the people which had formerly been extended to them.

6. Tours of personal inspection on the part of the agency officers are calculated to lead to very beneficial results, and should be steadfastly adhered to. Not only do they afford the agency officers adequate means of forming an opinion on the connection of the country, but, by bringing the people into direct communication with the British authorities, and thereby circulating and diffusing a correct knowledge of the benevolent intentions of the Government, they will do much to remove suspicion and hostility.

7. We have perused the report of Captain M. Viccar, dated the 21st May 1855, forwarding a summary of the operations of the agency for the season of 1854-55, which is apparently the result of most careful investigation.

8. The tenor of this report is satisfactory, with the exception of the part relating to Bustar and Jeypoor. The former place is described as the head quarters of the Jennah Poojah, and Captain M Viccar affirms that "human sacrifices have never ceased to be offered, despite all orders of the Nagpore Durbar and the several Residents at the late Raja's court." The real head of this zemindary is Laull Dologongona Singh, the uncle of the Raja, who appears to be a man of turbulent character, fanatical in the highest degree, and wedded to the superstitious rite of human sacrifice. The promise which he has on various occasions made to successive Residents have never been adhered to, and Captain M Viccar does not anticipate that much good can be effected in Bustar until he is removed from authority, a measure which does not appear likely to be found opposed to the feelings of the people. We shall be glad to be informed of the measure taken in this matter.

9. The zemindary of Jeypoor appears to be in a thoroughly disorganised condition, and the zemindar nearly imbecile. In the 43 para of this report, Captain M Viccar observes, "In the low country of Jeypoor, I regret most unfeignedly to relate that human sacrifices prevail in almost every district. Here, as in Bustar, we have to deal with exclusively civilised and educated men, and not with semi-barbarous tribes, as in the hill tracts of Orissa. The former are not, in my opinion, deserving of the same consideration as the latter, and some sharper and severer measures should be adopted than we have ever yet employed amongst the wild tribes of the mountains."

10. Captain Owen was deputed by Mr. Smollett, the Agent in Vizigapatam, to inquire into the condition of the country. **The evidence collected by Captain Owen tended to disprove the present existence of human sacrifices in Jeypoor. Although there seems to be little doubt that the practice prevailed extensively a few years since*.** Nevertheless, with a view

of putting an end to the anarchy in which this hill zemindary was plunged, Mr. Smollett, following the line of policy already advocated by Captain M Viccar, recommended that Government should assume the direct management of the estate. The consent of the Raja had been previously solicited to the measure, but it was declined, the zemindar promising to conduct the affairs of his territory and family according to the views of the Agent. The Government of Madras, however, concurred in the propriety of assuming the management of the country, and measures were accordingly taken with the view of carrying into effect the suggestion of Mr. Smollett.

11. **In your letter to the Government of Madras of the 18th July 1855, you express the opinion that the evidence was all against the supposition that the practice of human sacrifice by Hindoos existed in Jeypoor***; that the practice of Suttee had not, until recently, been prohibited; and that the result of that prohibition should be awaited before adopting any further measures.

12. While admitting that the state of anarchy which prevailed in Jeypoor was a good reason for assuming the management of the country, you are of opinion that the step is serious, being likely to involve Government in a protracted jungle war, and being one which could not be retraced.

13. You therefore directed that no steps for assuming the management of the country should be taken for the present. Acting on these instructions, the Madras Government recalled their orders.

14. **We trust, however, that no unnecessary delay will be allowed to take place in adopting such measures as may be necessary to suppress human sacrifice and infanticide, and to restore order in the district.***

15. We observe with satisfaction that the total number of Meriahs rescued in the hill tracts of Orissa during the season 1854-55, was 46, of whom 21 were males and 25 females.

16. Lieutenant Mac Donald's tour through the hill tracts of Goomsur, affords another exemplification of the beneficial effects of the personal visits of European officers on the people and native officials, and we entirely approve the orders of the Madras Government that Lieutenant MacDonald, or some other officer of the agency, should make such tours annually. The progress of education in these tracts appears to be very satisfactory and we approve the measure adopted for extending it. The measures for facilitating traffic by the construction of choultries and wells, at a cost of 1,650 rupees have our entire approval.

17. The schools recently established in these tracts will be placed under a native superintendent entertained for that purpose, by whom an annual report will be furnished. All measures relative to education in these districts should in future be reported in the educational branch of the Public Department.

18. Vigorous measures were very properly adopted for putting a stop to depredations in the Boad country, and the energetic conduct of Lieutenant MacDonald merited praise.

19. The survey operations in the tributary mehals appears to be progressing very favorably under Captain Saxton; the impediments alluded to in our dispatch, dated 18th June (No. 14) 1854, being no longer in existence. The road to Sumbhulpore has been surveyed and partially opened, and it is expected to be available for traffic throughout its entire length during the hot weather of 1856.

20. **The country appears to possess considerable mineral resources, and to be well worth a thorough scientific investigation. We shall be glad to receive some of the mineral specimens forwarded by Captain Saxton to Dr. Hunter at Madras, as stated in the 4th para. of his letter, dated 23d September 1854.***

21. In conclusion, we would express our high sense of the services of the Meriah agency officers, who appear to have shown great discretion and assiduity in the discharge of the important duties entrusted to them. It was with the deepest regret we received the account of the death of Captain Frye, an officer so earnest in this cause, and, as you remark, "whose labours have proved of such essential service to the cause of humanity."

We are, & c (signed)

W.H.Sykes,
R.D.Mangles,
&c. &c.

London. 17 September 1856.

28. ENUNCIATION, BY LONDON, OF A POST-1857 POLICY TO INFLICT PAIN INSTEAD OF DEATH, AS IN INDIA THERE IS NOT COMMONLY A FEAR OF DEATH

B.L: House of Commons Papers: 1857-58, Vol. 44 A.

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East IndiaCompany to the Govener-General of India in Council,March 24,1858.

The telegram from Calcutta, dated the 22nd ultimo, which arrived this morning, conveys intelligence of the concentration of the force under the commander-in-chief, and of that under Jung Bahadoor, upon Lucknow; and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this, that city has been evacuated by the rebels, and that no considerable crops remains united against us in the field.

2. If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourselves sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity,as well as the justice, which are congenial to the British character.

3. **Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive; and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes, from any act of amnesty which could be granted*;** but it must be as impossible, as it would be abhorrent from our feelings, to inflict the extreme penalty which the law might strictly award all who have swerved from their allegiance.

4. To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have ceased, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevails after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion, such acts always being excepted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment as have exceeded the licence of legitimate hostilities.

5. While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should at the same time remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

6. It would be desirable that, in every case, the disarming of a district, either by the seizure of arms or by their surrender, should precede the application to it of any amnesty; but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases, you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

7. **The disarming of a district having been effected, with exceptions***, under your licence, in favour of native gentlemen, whose feelings of honour would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of wearing arms, and of any other persons in whom you may confide, **we think the possession of arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but, unless the possession of arms should be combined with other acts, leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes, that penalty should not be death. Of course the possession of arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.**

8. Death has of late been but too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have when so indiscriminatly applied; but in fact, in India there is not commonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.*

9. In every amnestied district the ordinary administration of the law should as soon as possible be restored.

10. In carrying these views into execution, you may meet with obstruction from those who, maddened by the scenes they have witnessed, may desire to substitute their own policy for that of the Government; but preserve firmly in doing what you may think right; make those who would counteract you, feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey.

11. Acting in this spirit, you may rely upon our unqualified support.

29. EACH AND EVERY EUROPEAN IN INDIA EMPOWERED AS SUMMARY COURT- MARTIAL DURING 1857

(Leeds public Library: Lord Canning Papers: Parliamantry Papers: Governor General in Council to London: Paper of Misc Subjects: No 189: Home Department: No 144 of 11th December 1857)

Governor General Canning Reports to London

HON'BLE SIRS,

1. It appears that very considerable misapprehension prevails as to the measures which have been taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion during the recent disturbances in India, and as to certain instructions which have been issued for the guidance of Civil Officers charged with carrying out those measures, and vested with extraordinary powers for the purpose . Therefore, although our proceedings have been regularly reported to your Honorable Court, and have as yet been honored with your entire approval, we deem it right specially and briefly to recapitulate them, in order that the policy of the Government of India may not be misunderstood, and that mistaken representation regarding it may be corrected.

2. In the first place it has been made a matter of complaint against the Government of India that the country was not put under Martial Law after the occurence of the Mutinies.

3. The reply to this is that the country was put under Martial Law wherever it was nessesary, and as soon as it could answer any good purpose, to do so.

4. Martial Law was proclaimed by the Leiutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, as the mutiny broke out, in the Delhi (16th and 25th May), Meerut (16th May and 1st June), Rohilcund (28th May), and Agra Divisions (27th May, 4th and 12th June), and in the Distritcs of Ajmere and Neemuch (12th June).

It was proclaimed by the Government of India in the Allahabad and Beneras Division on the 9th June 1857, as soon as the mutiny at Beneras and Allahabad and its consequsences became known.

It was proclaimed by the Leiutenant Governor of Bengal in the Patna (30th June) and Chota Nagpore (10th August) Divisions of the Lower Provinces, immediately after the mutiny of the Dinapore Regiments and the Ramgurh Battalian occurred.

5. Lest it should be supposed by any that in thus dealing with the Country by Divisions and Districts a hesiteting and uncertain policy was pursued, it may be added that of the above named tracts of Country the smallest is equal in extent to any English County, and the largest is as large as Ireland.

6. In the Punjab and Oude (non-Regulation Provinces) there was no need to proclaim Martial Law. The Authorities acted as if it had been proclaimed .

7. But in truth measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of Martial Law were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

8. Martial Law, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the General. But Martial Law in India is proclaimed under special Regulations applicable only to the Regulation Provinces in the three Precidancies whereby the Government is empowered to suspend either wholly or partially the functions of the ordinary Criminal Courts, to establish Martial Law, and also to direct the immediate trial by Court Martial of all subjects who are taken (1) in arms in open hostility to the British Government; or (2) in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State; (4) or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government.

9. Neiher the effect of Martial Law nor the mode in which Courts Martial are to be costituted under the Regulation have ever been defined. But it seems clear that Court Martial cannot be composed of any but Military Officers, for there is nothing in the Regulation to show that Court Martail as therein described can be otherwise constituted.

10. Moreover it should be borne in mind that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, there was no Regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion; and that the Mahomedan Law which in the absence of express Regualtion,constitutes the Criminal Law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation 10 of 1804, rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a Court Martial; and even a Court Martial under that Regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion unless the offender were taken in arms in open hostility to the British Government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

11. The power of trial by Court Martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

12. Under these circumtances the Government might have been much embarrassed had Indian Martial Law alone been relied upon, and seeing that the numbers of Military Officers at the disposal of the Government was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the Government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of a Martial Law. Having first, by Act No. 8 of 1857, strengthened the hands of Officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of Court Martial, and by making the proceedings of those Courts more summary, the Government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own Military and Civil Officers, but of independent English Gentlemen not connected with East India Company, Indigo Planters and other Persons of intelligence and influence. These measures were as follow :---

13. On the 30th May, when it was known that the mutiny of the sepoys had been followed in many places by rebellion of the populace, Act No. XI of 1857 was passed. By this law persons guilty of rebellion or of waging war against the Queen or the Government, or of aiding or abetting therein, were rendered liable to the punishment of death and to the forfeiture of all their property, and the crime of harbouring rebels &c, was made heavily punishable : the Supreme and Local Executive Governments were empowered to issue a Commission in any district in a state of rebellion for the trial of rebels or persons charged with any other crime against the State, or with any heinous crime against person or property : the Commissioners were empowered to act singly, and were vested with absolute and final powers of judgment and execution without the

presence of Law Officers or assessors : and finally the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the Executive Government was made penal.

14. By Act No. XIV. of 1857, passed on the 6th June, provision was made for the punishment of persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition in the Army , the offender was rendered liable to the punishment of death and the forfeiture of all his property, and persons guilty of harbouring such offenders were made liable to heavy punishment. Power was also given to General Courts Martial to try all persons, whether amenable to the Articles of War or not , charged with any offence punishable by this or the preceding Act; and the Supreme and Local Executive Governments were authorised to issue Commission in any district for the trial, by single Commissioners without the assistance of Law Officers or assssors and with absolute and final power of judgement and execution, of any crime against the State or any heinous offence whatever, the term "heinous offence" being declared every crime attended with great personal violence, or committed with the intention of forwarding the designs of those who are waging war against the State.

15. By Act No. XVI, of 1857 all heinous offences committed in any district under Martial Law, or in any district to which this Act might be extended, were made punishable by death, tranportation, or imprisonment, and by forfeiture of all property and effects.

16. These enormous powers have been largly exercised. They have been entrusted not to Military Officers only, but to Civil Officers and trustworthy persons not connected with government who under Martial Law properly so called would have had no authority ; and the law has thereby been put in force in parts of the country where there were few troops and no Officers to spare for such purpose.

17. In all the three above-mentioned Acts, Nos. XI., XIV., and XVI., European British subjects are expressly exampted from their operation.

18. By Act No.XVII of 1857, power was given to Sessions Judges, and to any person or persons Civil or Military to whom the Executive Government might issue a Commission for the purpose, to try for the mutiny or desertion any person subject to the Articles of War for the Native Army, with final powers of judgement and execution : Police Officers were empowered to arrest without warrant persons suspected of being mutineers and deserters : and Zamindars and others were made penally responsible for giving early intelligence of persons suspected of mutiny or desertion resorting to their estates.

19. Lastly , by Act No. XXV, of 1857 the property and effects of all persons amenable to the Articles of War for the Native Army, guilty of mutiny , were declared forfeit , and stringent means were provided for the seizure of such property or effects and for the adjudication of forfeiture on all cases whether the guilty person be convicted, or whether he die or escape before trial.

20. Not only therefore is it not the case that Martial Law was not proclaimed in districts in which there was a necessity for it , but the measures taken for the arrest, summary trial and punishment of heinous offenders of every class, Civil as well as Military, were far more widely spread and certainly not less stringent than any that could have resulted from Martial Law.*

21. To an application of certain inhabitantsof Calcutta for the proclamation of Martial Law in that city and in the rest of Bengal, where notwithstanding the mutinous spirit of the Native Troops, not the smallest indication of disaffection on the part of the people had or has been manifested , an answer was given setting forth at length the reasons which made the adoption of such a measure inexpedient . The application and the answer are appended.

22. It may be affirmed with confidence that no one useful object would have been attained by the Proclamation of Martil Law throughout India, or in any part of India wherein it was not proclaimed, which has not been attained in a far more effectual way, by special legislation adapted to the condition of a country throughout vast tracts of which Military authority was altogether unrepresented, and by the executive measures consequent thereupon: while the mere proclamation of Martial Law without such special legislation, though it might have sounded more imposingly, would have cramped the action of Government by debarring the Government from the assistance of its Civil Officers in the suppression of mutiny and of the crimes which have accompanied it.

23. We now advert to the resolution of the 31st July, containing directions to Civil Officers respecting the punishment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, and the burning of villages.

24. It has been shown that before this Resolution was passed, Civilians had been authorized to try for mutiny and desertaion (offences previously cognizable only by Court Martial), and that enormous power had been given by the Legislature for the punishment of the crimes of rebellion, mutiny and desertion, and others of less degree, to such individual Civil Officers as might be apponted special Commissioners by Government, or by such other Officers as the Government should invest with the power of issuing Commissions; and Gentlemen both in and out of the regular service of Government had been appointed Special Commissioners under the Acts. The appointment of Special Commissioners might have been restricted to the Governor General in Council, or to the Executive Governments, had there not been any interruption

to the free communication between the Governments and their principal Civil Officers in the districts : but when communication was cut off the working of the Acts would have been very much impeded if a Special Commissioner could not be appointed except by Government . It was therefore considered necessary in many cases, whilst the power of communicating existed, and before the Telegraph Wires were cut, to invest the principal officers, such as the Cheif Commissioners, the Commissioner of Nagpore, Commissioners of Districts &c., with the power of appointing Special Commissioners under the Acts.

25. It Afterwards came to the knowledge of the Government both officially and through private channels that in some instances the powers given to special Commissioners were being abused , or at least used without proper discretion, and that capital punishment was inflicted for trivial offences committed during a period of anarchy, and on evidence which , under ordinary circumtances would not have been received, and that in some quarters the fact of a man being a Sepoy was enough, in the state of excited feeling which then prevailed, to ensure his apprehension and immediate execution as a deserter.*

26. There were then many Native Officers and Sodiers of the Bengal Army who, though absent from their Regiments, were wholly innocent of the crime of desertion, and some who, so far from being guilty of mutiny, had used their best endeavours to prevent it, saving the lives of their European officers at the risk of their own.

27. To punish these men indiscriminately with death as deserters or mutineers would have been a crime. To prevent their punishment was an imperative duty of the Government.

28. The instructions in question were issued for the guidance of Civil , not Military Officers, and were of necessity in force only where civil power was exercised. They prescribe discrimination between the guilty and those who might reasonably be supposed ro be innocent. They sanction no lenity to the guilty. They give to the Civil Authorities no power of finally releasing even the innocent. They do not exempt mutineer or deserter, or in fact any Officer or Soldier, from trial by Court Martial ; but as regards Military Offenders they lay down rules for the guidance of Civilians in the exercise of the powers newly vested in them by Act XVII of 1857, by which cognizance was the first time given to them of offences of a purely Military character.

First, in regard to men belonging to Regiments which have not mutinied, the Civil Authorities were directed to punish as deserters those only who were found with arms in their hands. If guilty of rebellion they could be punished as rebels apart from their Military character, but if charged with or suspected of desertion alone , and not found with arms in their possession, they were to be sent back to their Regiments , or detained in prison, pending the orders of the Government. If sent back to their Regiments they would of course be dealt with by the Military Authorities according ro their guilt or innocence.

Second, in regard to men belonging to Regiments which have mutinied but which have not killed their Officers or committed any other sanguinary crime, or whose Regiments cannot be ascertined, the Civil Officers, were directed to punish as mutineers only those who where found with arms in their possession, or who were charged with a specific act of rebellion, or who for special reasons it might be nessesary to punish forthwith. All others were to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as the Government might order, to be deal with by the Military Authorities.

Third, in regared to men belonging to Regiments which have mutinied and killed any European or committed any other sanguinary outrage, the Civil Authorites were directed to try and sentence as mutineers all such persons, and to punish forthwith all who could not show either that they were not present at the murder or other outrage, or that if present they did their utmost to prevent it. These exceptional cases were to be reported to the Government .

29. It has not been found that these orders are difficult of execution, or that they have tended in the least degree to weaken the hands of Civil power in dealing with those who have been really guilty of mutiny or desertion , to say nothing of graver crimes. If they have saved innocent men from unjust punishment their objects has been so far attained. Upon the action of Court Martial, or upon the proceeding of any Military Authority whatsoever, they neither were intended to have , nor have they had, any restrictive effect. **Their tendancy, on the contrary, so far as Military Tribunals are concerned, is to extend the jurisdiction of those Tribunals***, and to transfer to them cases which in ordinary course would have been dealt with by Civil Officers. They impose no labor upon the European Troops, the transport of the arrested men to Allahabad or other Military Stations being assigned to the Police, or Local Guards.

30. In regard to the treatment of rebels not being mutineers, we warned the Civil Authorities to whom the power of life and death had been entrusted that though it is " unquestionably neccessary in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the Civil authority had been entirely overthrown to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil disposed among the people, and will induce them by the fear of death to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property and to return to peaceful occupations ," yet, when this object was once in a great degree attained, that "the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination;" and in the 10th paragraph after pointing out the difficulties that would probably be caused by the administration of the law in its extreme severity after the requisite impression had been made upon the rebellious and disorderly and after order had been partially restored, we desired the Civil Authorities to encourage all persons to return to their occupations, postponing all minute enquiry into past political offences, but punishing the principal offenders and making examples of those who after the partial restoration of order might be guilty of serious outrages or of promoting the designs of the rebels.

31. We cannot believe that these instructios need defence. They are addressed only to Civil Authorities; to men who, scattered far and wide through the country , are wielding terrible powers, but powers which in the actual condition of India we have not hesitated to confer. It is not conceiveable that they should have hampered the action of a single Soldier. Wherever Troops have been available for the purpose they have been employed without any practical restriction on their acts but the humanity and discretion of their Commanding Officers. In such cases, when forcible resistance has been met with, quarter has been rarely given, and prisoners, whether tried on the spot by the Officer in command, or made over to the Civil power, have been punished immideately with extreme but just and neccessary severity. If in such a lamentable condition of affairs errors have been committed, it is assuredly not on the side of undue leniency.

only to Civil Officers - were that though a severe measure of this sort might be nessasary as an example in some cases, when the mass of the inhabitants have committed a grave outrage and the individual perpetrators cannot be reached, anything like a wholesale or indiscriminate destruction of property without due regard to the guilt or innocences of those affected by it was to be strongly reprehended. Can there be a doubt of the justice of this order? To ourselves not only the justice but the nessesity of it was manifest from unofficial but perfectly trustworthy accounts which reached us of the proceedings of some of the authorities both in the Allahabad and Beneras Divisions shortly after the out-break, and of the deserted state of the country within reach of the princpal Stations at the commencement of seed time for the autumn harvest. Its success is shown by the return of the villagers to their occupations, and by the fact that even in the most disturbed districts the breadth of cultivation has not been very seriously diminished.*

33. On the whole we may observe that the effect of the resolution , as regards the Native Public in the Bengal Presidency, the vast majority of whom have shown no sympathy with the rebellion, has been to allay in a great measure the apprehension of a general and indiscrimiante war against Hindoos and Mussulmans, guilty or not guilty, in revenge for the Massacres of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Jhansee, which evil- disposed persons have industriously raised.

We have the honor to be,
HON'BLE SIRS,
Your most faithful humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM
The 11th December 1857

(Signed) CANNING
,, J. DORIN
,, J. LOW
,, B. PEACOCK.

30. REFLECTIONS ON THE INDIAN REBELLION BY W.EDWARD, LIVERPOOL. 1859

Leeds Public library: Lord Canning: Misc.correspondence (not cataloged) pp. 14-25, printed.

…Their knowledge of the interior of the country, and of its millions of inhabitants, was derived almost entirely from reports and official documents. They lacked the personal experience and local knowledge which in India are all important, and give their chief value to official aptitude and intellectual activity. They, consequently, thought and acted as if India generally was similarly situated to Calcutta, as if the mind of the nation was in that forward state of social progress which would have been the case had it worked out for itself all existing improvements, instead of having had them suddenly implanted from without. Hence our Calcutta rulers, seeing through a false medium, were lulled into a state of security which led to an abandonment of all necessary safeguards, as I shall hereafter show, while, at the same time, they instituted measures of a dangerous tendency, and for which the people were by no means prepared. Before, however, entering on this part of the subject, it is requisite to consider the condition and feelings of the people in general, and particularly of the agricultural classes in the North West Provinces at this time, which predisposed them to rebellion, and rendered them, equally with the native army, ready instruments in the hands of the originators of this great revolt. In doing this, it will be necessary to offer some remarks on the working of our revenue, judicial, and police system, and to show how these severally affected the people.

First as respects the revenue system introduced into the N.W.Provinces within the last thirty years. It has been generally supposed that this system was one of unmixed good, admirable in its working, and complete in its details, and so highly appreciated by the people, that it has sincerely attached them to our rule, and led them to desire its continuance. A pretty intimate acquaintance with the system in practical operation, has led me to form a very different opinion as to its adaptation to the people, and the light in which they regard it. The basis of the system is, it must be borne in mind, a survey of all lands held under the Government, and a record of the Government claim accruing thereon, and of all rights and interests connected therewith. But a record of this description, to be of any value, must be **accurate in all its details, completely trustworthy, and beyond suspicion***. If it falls short of this, it becomes one of the most powerful engines of evil and misgovernment which it is possible to devise. I hesitate not to assert, that the revenue records of the N.W.Provinces, however correct they may originally have been, have, from constant mutations in occupancy, and the corruption of native officials, become a mass of falsehood, inaccuracy and confusion, and the source of much of that litigation which have made our civil courts the opprobrium of our rule.

I have, while moving through my district, repeatedly tested on the spot the accuracy of the revenue records, and I have never yet found the actual circumstances of occupancy, & c., to correspond accurately with the entries in the registers. The fact is that the system attempted too much. It was an endeavor, on the part of a government of foreigners to exercise, through its own officers, a supervision over the rights and interests of its millions of subjects so minute, detailed, and accurate, as would be scarcely practicable even for a private proprietor to maintain over his own estate and tenantry. It was also many years in advance of the people. A record of the rights and interests in the soil, and those of the most minute and intricate character, subject to continual mutations of millions of men, can never be

accuracy or completeness requisite to make it fit to be received as final and complete evidence of rights, so long as the people themselves, from their inability to read or write, are incapable of watching over their own interests. In the North Western Provinces not one man in a thousand of the agricultural body is acquainted with reading or writing, or able to test the accuracy of the record on which all his earthly interests and those of his family depend. They are consequently now left entirely dependent on our native revenue officers, who are as a class very corrupt and untrustworthy. Recent changes introduced by us have rendered them more so than before, and highly distasteful to the people. **The most important, as regards the people, of these native officials employed in the revenue department is the "Putwarree," as he is termed. This functionary has from time immemorial been the sworn registrar and accountant of the village community, recording all arrangements respecting their lands, and attesting all their engagements and transactions. On these points the Putwarree registers and his oral evidence are final as regards possession, &c., in our courts. The office until lately was hereditary, the Putwarree, as his father before him, being one of the village community, enjoying, and generally deserving their confidence, for an identity of interest, as well as regards for his own reputation, were powerful guarantees to the faithful discharge of his important duties. The Putwarrees of this old school were soon found unequal to the task of working the new revenue system with its increasingly intricate and voluminous details*.** Attempts were made, under the orders of Government, to instruct them in reading, writing, and accounts, according to our system, and in land surveying; and it was ordered that they should pass an examination in these branches by a given time. This term of probation was extended from month to month under one pretext or another; but the examination, as might have been expected, was never passed. **The Government then thought the opportunity favorable for getting rid of the original body, and introducing a new, and, in their opinion, improved system of Putwarreeship in general***. With this view, each collectorate was divided into circles, or "Hulquahs," each circle to comprize several original Putwarreeships. **Over these a new Putwarree, holding a diploma as having passed the requisite examinations, was appointed, and the agricultural**

body comprized within the circle were assessed to meet the new functionary's salary, which was fixed at an amount sufficient, it was supposed, to secure integrity and independence of conduct. An attempt was made to induce each circle to elect its own Putwarree, but this of course failed, as might have been anticipated. The new officers were consequently, with scarcely an exception, Government nominees connected with native officials in the collectors' offices. This scheme, beautiful on paper, and to all appearance excellent, not only failed, but caused the most bitter resentment and disaffection among the agricultural body*. It was one among many causes which made our revenue system a mass of confusion, and a source of well-founded dislike to the people. But, besides the impossibility of working the system, on account of its intricacy and minuteness of detail, it contained in itself the elements of its own destruction. The principle on which the whole scheme **is based is individual and joint responsibility***. Each member of the village community is held severally and jointly responsible for the Government demand assessed on the village. If this principle be departed from, which is the key-stone, the whole breaks down. **But under a system of law termed "Butwarrah," which is now in force, each co-partner in an estate or village is entitled to claim the separation of his own interest from that of the rest of the community, and its erection into a separate and distinct estate. Under the action of these laws, the village system was more or less broken up***. There was, to be sure, an authority vested in the collector to refuse to divide an estate, but this power was virtually a dead letter and when the rebellion broke out, the vaunted village system of the North Western Provinces was fast degenerating into pure Ryotwar. As estates became divided and subdivided, a man's holding was too small to enable him to pay the

government demand and support his family. There was no relief in emigration as in similar circumstances in Ireland. The great families of the country, and the independent states which heretofore had afforded the means of honorable provision for the sons and cadets of the yeomanry, no longer existed. **Hence, the agricultural body fell into the hands of money-lenders, who ended by suing their debtors in the civil courts, and obtaining decrees, realizable any time within twelve years from date of issue. These decrees were carefully kept until the fitting opportunity presented itself, when their holders sold up in satisfaction of them their debtors' lands, of which they became themselves the purchasers. Society in the N.W.Provinces thus had become in late years thoroughly disorganized*.** The ancient proprietary body remained it is true, but in the position of tenants on their hereditary estates, smarting under a sense of degradation, and holding intact their ancient feudal power over their old retainers, who were willing and ready to co-operate with them in any attempt to recover their lost position.

Again, the tendency of our land revenue system was, in other respects, depressing in the extreme. The assessments were far too heavy in nearly every district under settlement, and could not have been imposed, had not the attachment of an agricultural people to their hereditary lands been so great, that they preferred agreeing to pay any amount of revenue for them rather than desert or be ousted from them*. The result was that the gentry had disappeared, or were in very reduced circumstances, and the mass of the agricultural body were in the most extreme and hopeless poverty. Long before the rebellion, their state of increasing destitution had attracted my notice, and so deeply impressed me, that I always regarded some great convulsion of society as extremely probable. **But I never fully realised the extent of their poverty and wretchedness until when traversing the country as a fugitive, and having to pass through thousands of villages bearing off the plunder of those they had attacked, I saw what that plunder consisted of, and for what the people evidently thought it worth risking their lives to steal*.**

As regards the Zemindars, the heads of the proprietary body who were left, they were also in a very depressed and discontented position, predisposing them to rebellion.

The action of our Resumption laws, the abolition of Zemindary and Talookdarree rights, and the constant endeavour to weaken and diminish their influence, had caused them great dissatisfaction. A late proposal of the government to admit to the rights of permanent occupancy tenants who could establish the fact of occupancy for certain continuous fixed periods, had thoroughly alarmed them, as it appeared to them little less than a confiscation of their rights as proprietors.

I am free to confess that both higher and lower classes forming the agricultural body in the N.W.Provinces, had much to complain of in their position, and well calculated to induce them to revolt. The bitter antipathy to our revenue system which existed in their minds was clearly manifested by their systematic destruction of all the Government, revenue, and other records not only in the sudder, but also in the subordinate offices in each district.*

In my humble opinion, our safest and most politic course will be, to acknowledge that Government cannot, with credit to itself or justice to its subjects, exercise the functions or fulfill the duties of private proprietors, and to restore to their natural position of influence and authority the landed gentry, and work through them. We have acted upon the principle, in our revenue administration, that there is a necessary antagonism between landlord and tenant in India and that to save the latter from destruction it is necessary to interfere to limit the landlords demands, and to make the one entirely independent of the other. This has always appeared to me an erroneous course to adopt. The dealer in land everywhere is, to a

certain extent, very much in the position of every other dealer in any other commodity, and it is his advantage to deal well and fairly by his customers, and for Government to interfere between the two, is to put in a position of antagonism two parties naturally dependent on each other. But in India this bond of union was formerly strengthened by the universal existence of very ancient rules and records, that prescribed well-known rates in ordinary times, and effectual relief in seasons of difficulty.

During the rebellion, society in the N.W.Provinces righted itself, the two classes - the proprietor and the tenant- resumed their natural relative positions by mutual agreement, and thus practically shewed that we had been wrong in considering that Government interference was necessary for the protection of one against the other*. A proprietary body can and does deal with individual cases among their tenantry, and relax or press their demands, or supply aid as circumstances require. In the case of Government acting as proprietor this is impossible, and society is dealt with as a machine, the result being sooner or later a deadlock.

Now, with reference to our judicial systems, and its effect upon the people. There is no doubt that our civil courts were cumbrous, dilatory, and expensive, the result of a very complicated system of law and procedure, and of the intriguing and corrupt character of our native officials. But these courts were not the immediate cause of the misery of the people. **It was the complicated and unsatisfactory condition of our land revenue arrangements which caused the resort to the courts*.** This will be seen by a reference to the causes under litigation for the past ten years, when it will be found that the majority of disputes arise from causes immediately connected with the land. It appears to be the idea, that if only the civil courts were swept away, and the Punjab code introduced in supercession of our regulations, **all would be well**. It seems to be the impression that our civil and criminal code was imposed on the country just as it is at present, whereas **the truth is, that it has grown up**

gradually under the advancing exigencies and complications of society to what it is now, from a very small and simple beginning. As cases arose unprovided for under the original regulations, the district authorities referred for definite instructions to the Superior Courts, the Boards of Revenue, and Sudder Nizamut and Dewanny Adawlut. The replies to these references were issued in the form of constructions of law and circular orders, having the force of law. These have multiplied as years passed on, until all is now an unwieldy mass of complication, uncertainty, and confusion, which no man can master, and which leads to endless appeals and ruinous delays*. The error has been in not reducing all these amendations and additions to the laws into one simple intelligible code, say every three years, and **this** is the duty of the Legislative Council. The very same thing is happening in the case of the Punjaub code which **has** occurred in that of the older Provinces. The origin of that code was this: in 1846, when the "Jhallundhur Doab" was annexed, it was considered desirable to have some code of laws framed for the administration of that Province and the British Cis Sutlej States. I was at this time Under Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor General Lord Hardinge, in the N.W.Frontier, and I suggested to his Lordship, and to the then Chief Secretary, Sir Henry Elliot, that the "Assam Code", drawn up by the Hon.T.C.Robertson, when Political Agent for the North Eastern Frontier, would form a good basis for the proposed code. My suggestion was adopted, and the rules for the administration of justice in the Cis Sutlej States and Jhallundhur Doab were drawn up by Sir H.Elliot and myself from the Assam code, and were put in force under the order of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. A copy of these original rules must be forthcoming in the India House. The rules were after annexation applied to the Punjaub, and if they are compared with the Punjaub code as it at present stands, and if a return be called for of the different circular orders issued from time to time in the Punjaub, having the force of law, it will be seen how that code is growing into a comparatively extended and

complicated system of laws. In the very same manner has our complicated system grown out of circumstances, as may be seen by a reference to the original simple regulations, most of which were proposed and drafted by Jonathan Duncan, then Governor -General's Agent for the Provinces of Benares, (the original drafts in his hand - writing are in my office **there** now,) and by comparing them with our present voluminous system of laws. As a district officer under the Punjaub Government, and a Civil and Session Judge under the N.W.P.Government, I have had an opportunity of working both systems, and I am confident that the Punjaub code, while well suited for a people but recently come under our rule, would be found totally unadapted for the various and complicated wants of an old society, which has been under British jurisdiction for more than eighty years. What is called for, is not, in my opinion, a rude and general sweeping away of all existing laws and forms of procedure, and of the courts in which these laws are administered; but, that a digest in a simple and accessible form of these should be made by the Legislative Council, and that the form of procedure should be simplified. No ultimate good will be gained by the abolition of the office of Judge, and the substitution of a Commissioner to exercise all fiscal and judicial control within the district to which he is attached. I have been too long a Collector and Magistrate not to feel that it is highly desirable for the interests of justice, that the final disposal of cases should be vested in a separate and distinct authority, who would bring to their consideration a mind free from all preconceived notions as to the merits of cases or guilt of parties, and totally unprejudiced and unbiassed. In short, that the thief catcher should not be the thief-trier, or be entrusted with the final disposing of his case.

I now come to our system of Police, and its bearing upon the people. I believe that our Police as a body in the N.W.Provinces was most corrupt, and a scourge to the people, and I do not see how any Police we **can** embody will cease to be so. Power and poverty can never go together, and the humblest policeman in India can never be so entirely divested of all power, or so closely watched by the European executive officers, who alone are trustworthy, as not to be in a position, by intimidation or abuse of his powers in some way or other, to double or quadruple his pay as a member of the force, or any amount of salary any Government could afford to give him. We may dress the Police as we fancy, or give them any organization we please, but they will still remain the same corrupt, unscrupulous, oppressive, and untrustworthy body. It is notorious that our police look to their illicit gains, and **not to their wages**, as their real source of emoluments. "**What do you make over and above**?"* is always the question they put to each other. No shame attaches to such gains, and none ever will, as long as the people themselves, as well as the police, remain false and unprincipled. **The nominal monthly salary of the** *Kotwals*, **head police officers of Delhi and Benares, are 100 rupees; the monthly value of the appointment is in the one case 700 and the other 1100 rupees a month, according to native estimation**.* A common police, "Burkundauze," gets 5 rupees a month, and he will generally quadruple this sum, for crime is to these gentry a valuable source of profit. For instance, a burglary or a murder occurs in a policeman's beat. His first course will be to get a handsome present from one or two of the wealthiest people around, otherwise **they** will certainly be brought into trouble about the case. Infanticide enquiries afford a rich harvest to the police, for sensitive Rajpoots will gladly submit to any amount of oppression rather than have the humiliation and disgrace of refuting false

police are inseparable from the position our Government holds as a foreign conquering power in the country, and the corrupt materials we have to make use of as our instruments.* I see but one way of doing away with this fearful evil, and that is by entrusting the great landholders with police jurisdiction within their estates, and the power of deciding petty cases, referring those of a more serious nature to the European Government officers. The events of the past two years may teach us the lesson that the landed gentry, the natural heads of society, are no such tyrants as we have been in the habit of considering them, and that, instead of being hated by the people, they are regarded by them with respect and attachment. Certain I am, that there is no Zemindar, were he entrusted with police powers, who would fail to exercise them with more regard to the interest of the people, and the cause of justice, than our police, whose oppressions and exactions form one of the chief grounds of dissatisfaction with our Government.

From the several causes, which I have above traced, the minds of the rural classes, in the North Western Provinces, were in a very inflammable condition, and this fact was well known to the origination of the revolt, who took advantage of it, and sent among them the "**Chupatties**" as a signal to be on the alert and prepare them for action.

But all the efforts to lead the army to mutiny, or the people to rebel, on the part of these conspirators, would have proved futile, had it not been for the totally unprotected state of the country, by which I mean the scarcity of European troops on the line of the Ganges.

I have already said that our Calcutta rulers, seeing through the false medium surrounding them at the presidency, had been lulled into a state of dangerous security, and the result was that **they denuded Bengal and the North West Provinces, to an extent unprecedented at any former period, of what constitutes our only safeguard, a powerful body of European troops, to act as a counterpoise to our native army, and to overawe our native subjects***. While our empire has been within the past fifteen years greatly extended, our European force have not been proportionately increased, and those, which had formerly been considered as no more than sufficient to garrison our old provinces, had been removed on towards our North West Frontier, and into the Punjaub, in order to hold that Province, **under the very erroneous impression that our only other danger was from without, and that, by their presence in those remote portions of the empire, the security of the centre and southern parts was effectually provided for**.* I was under this view that the cost of the regular army serving in the Punjaub was made a charge on the general revenues of India, whereas the Province which alone derived advantage from their presence should have borne the cost. But the measure of pushing forward all our available British troops into the Punjaub has been a source of weakness instead of strength, and it was alone by withdrawing considerable numbers of them from that Province, and bringing them to bear on the mutinous districts, that we have been able to maintain our position in India. **At no period, since Bengal and the North West Provinces came under British rule, had that vast tract of country been so denuded of troops as in the year immediately preceding the rebellion*.** A brief statement of facts will prove this. The following table shows the European force formerly considered necessary for the defence of those Provinces, distributed at salient points along the whole extent from Calcutta to Loodianah, and that in the country in 1857. It

must be borne in mind, that there is nothing in the condition of this country which renders the presence of a European force less necessary for the preservation of tranquility than it was when actually stationed within its limits. On the contrary, the necessity for a strong and overawing force is greater, for causes of disquietude have sprung up within late years.(p.26)

31. ON THE IMPENDING FAMINE IN NWP (LIKE THAT OF 1838): LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR NWP, TO GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, 15 JULY 1860

Leeds Public Libraries Archives: Lord Canning: copies of letters (128), No.18

And this brings me to the Income Tax Bill, which may have already become Law. When I last wrote on the 25th ultimo, the prospects of the season were not promising, but I indulged the hope that the rain could not long be postponed. Since then, I grieve to say, matters have become worse in some parts of the country, particularly in and about Meeruth, Mooradabad and the Lower Doab also, and I greatly apprehend that the time will be most inopportune for the introduction of new Taxes. The following is an extract from a letter from the Commissioner of Meeruth dated the 12th instant, "from Mooradabad to this place and about here there is very little land ploughed, and none sown. The people have been obliged in many cases to send their bullocks away to graze on the Khadir (low land of the river) and leave the sugarcane to dry up. If we do not have rain soon, there will be no bullocks left to till the soil when rain does come. The people are next door to starving. Some do not get more than one meal in two days, and have taken to mangoe stones, as they did in 1837/38 (the great year of drought and famine). Some even have begun to sell their children. Here, at Meeruth, gram is not to be got for the Comissiariat and the Jail. There is none in the market. Dealers declare they have none. Sapte (the magistrate) has done all that can be done, viz., to advise the dealers that the people will not starve, they will have grain, and if they can't buy, they will take to plundering, and the dealers will lose more in the one case by robbery than they will get by holding out for a month. But a few more days of this dry parching dusty hot west wind will render it necessary to take steps to meet a partial famine. I think we should be prepared to arrange largely for the employment of the people, wherever there has not been rain, if there should be none in a week or ten days. If there is none by that time, all hope of Khureef will have passed away. With all this it is wonderful how quiet the people

are, and how the Revenue has come in, and how wonderfully free from sickness we are...". Again Mr.Strachey the Collector of Mooradabad writes to me, "The prospect is becoming very alarming. There has been no rain at all, and the distress is very great. A strong hot west wind has been blowing day and night, but this morning (14) an East wind has come in and with it clouds. The immediate effect has been to lower the price of wheat. Yesterday it was sold at 11 1/2 seers for the rupee, today it is at 14. If it should rain soon, all will turn out well, but there is no doubt that actual famine is threatening us. If the rain should hold off for a very short time longer, we shall have no rice and no sugarcane. There is no doubt that multitudes of people are on the very verge of starvation, and things look very bad. But I am afraid that in times of famine Governments can do almost nothing, and the attempts to relieve the people generally end in making matters worse". Again the following is extracted from a letter from Futtehpoor received today "...and all this with famine staring us in the face. On the day I last wrote, and on the following day we had a slight shower or two, enough to admit of a little Jowar and Bajra (the commonest rain crops being sown). Ever since up to this moment, we have had, without intermission night and day, (I am not exaggerating in the least) the hot winds of May back again - at the moment I am now writing, symptoms of rain are showing themselves. If it come now, well. If otherwise, come when it will, it will come too late for the Khureef. As it is there will be no rice in this District; the time for sowing rice is gone, and no amount of rain that may now fall will be of any use for that crop. Truly our prospects are gloomy. Literally up to this moment the Heavens above us have been as Brass, and the Earth under our feet as Iron". Lastly Mr.Muir in a note of the 10th from Allahabad says briefly, "Still no rain and high west or S.W.winds.

Everything dry again. Weather not unpleasant but cause of great uneasiness as to the prosperity of the season". I have received no direct communication from Agra, but judging by the newspapers, matters are no better in that direction.

These are calamitous news, and those who remember the horrors of 1837/38, cannot but shudder at the prospect of their recurrence, and that too at a time, when the country, scarcely recovered from the effect of the disturbances of 1857 and 1858, is greatly depressed by reason of the very unfavourable season of 1859, and the short crop which has been almost universal.

In these circumstances I feel myself reluctantly compelled to advise that the enforcement of the Income Tax Bill should be postponed. On general grounds I regard such postponement as a very great misfortune, and as calculated in the end to increase our difficulties. But in the condition of the country, as above described, success in the levying of new imposts seems well nigh hopeless. If rain should not fall, and that plentifully within a week, we shall lose a large proportion even of our land revenue: no rain, there can be no crop: no crop, there can be no assets, and large suspensions and remissions of demand will become unavoidable, as regards the Khureef at least. The question calls, I think, for the earliest consideration of your Lordship and the council, and I beg that, if the Bill has become Law, I may be favoured with your instructions by Telegraph.

Should this state of things continue, I must endeavour to provide employment for the people, and I solicit a discretion as to Expenditure. In 1837/38 the starving population were put to labour on Govt. works in progress and on large works struck out for the special purpose of giving them the means of getting food, and so keeping them from plunder. In that season, grain pits were plundered, and crime of all kinds was rampant, and it is not difficult to foresee that the same will recur now if rain should still be denied us. The only thing that the Govt. can do is to provide work, and so get some return for the outlay. The

Railway affords occupation to many. The Ganges Canal and the excavation of Rajbuhas may give profitable employment to many. There are many roads of importance, which may be pushed on with advantage: in short there is no difficulty in finding work. But money will be wanted and I am so restricted by the P.W.Budget, and the sketch estimate that I can do nothing beyond what is specially provided for therein. I must, therefore, earnestly beg for a discretion to expend money for the express purpose of keeping the people from starvation, and so preserving the country from plunder. Otherwise there must be great disorder and insecurity: our jails will be crammed, extra Police will be needed; the distress among the poorer classes will be universal, and humanity will be shocked by a repetition of the horrors of 1837/38, when it was not an uncommon thing to find dead bodies in the ditch which surrounded your compound. If your Lordship would telegraph your instructions on this point also, I should be greatly obliged.

32. SCIENCE WILL MAKE INDIAN'S FEEL THEIR INFERIORITY, GOVERNOR BENGAL TO SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA: FEB 18TH 1875

IOL: Vol : MSS EUR C114/17. No 72-73

From
SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.
GOVERNOR, BENGAL

TO
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

BELVEDERE,
February 18th, 1875.

My DEAR LORD NORTHBROOK,

You are doubtless aware that the conduct of the Bengalee Press has been much commented on of late. I consequently asked Mr. Robinson (the Reverend), who is our Bengalee Translator, and who has seen more of the Bengalee Native Press for many years past than any other person, to give me his opinion. This he has done in a letter which may perhaps interest you, a copy of which I enclose. His tone seems hardly to be one of confidence regarding the effect of these public writings. From his personal conversation he seems to me to be not without anxiety on the subject, especially as to the change which he has, during his long experience, seen coming over the mind of the more intelligent classes in Bengal. The opinions of thoughtful men of this kind are no doubt worthy of our attention; still I have to mention that I do not altogether share the anxiety which is felt by him and by some other persons. Neither, on the other hand, do I concur in the contemptuous feeling which I sometimes hear expressed as to the utterances of the Native Press. Some authorities think that it is all mere bluster, confined to a limited class of readers. I am not so sure of that. Grave and serious dissatisfaction and disloyalty publicly and constantly expressed in the neighbourhood of such a capital as Calcutta might in the long run produce an effect which would be felt in any political crisis that might supervene.

The question, however, is - have the utterances of the Native Press at all come to this pass ?

I do not think that they have. For every passage of clear disloyalty that could be produced, a counter-passage could be produced of signal loyalty. Much of the dissatisfaction which is expressed is partly natural, and arises from an ambition to rise to the high places, to get the good things, the loaves and fishes of their native country.

No doubt the alumni of our schools and colleges do become as a class discontented. But this arises partly from our higher education being too much in the direction of law, public administration, and prose literature, where they may possibly imagine, however erroneously, that they may approach to competition with us. But we shall do more and more to direct their thoughts towards practical science, where they must inevitably feel their utter inferiority to us.

The harsh and captious criticism to which Mr. Robinson alludes is nothing new. I have no acquaintance of the Bengalee Press previous to 1860. But in that year I had occasion to commence observing it, and it was then quite as faulty as it is now as regards a *quasi-disloyal* dissatisfaction.

By leaving the Press quite unfettered we have the advantage of seeing what Natives would say if left to their own devices, which is the very thing so difficult to get at otherwise. I should therefore be very averse to interfere even where the law clearly permitted this. Still there are one or two Native newspapers which occasionally go too far. I have my eye upon them, and at all events I would try the plan of speaking to them quietly before proposing anything further.

I am yours very truly,

R.TEMPLE.

Vol. IOL: MSS EUR C 144/17,pp 74-77

Enclosure in a letter from Sir R. Temple, dated February 18th, 1875.

From,

THE REVEREND J.ROBINSON.

To,

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

HONORED SIR,

Your HONOR having requested me to state in writing my personal opinion on the loyalty of the Natives of Bengal, I have very carefully weighed and considered the subject, and have the honor to submit the following statement, which I trust will meet with your Honor's approval.

Satisfactorily to define the present state of feeling among the Hindoos is no easy task. In comparing the tone they now assume with that evinced by them forty, or even thirty, years since, the difference is very striking. Under the rule of the Honorable East India Company, when their admission to posts of responsibility under the Government was a matter of special favor, and dependent entirely on the will of their superiors, they were polite, gentle, and unassuming. The style in which they spoke or wrote was one of great deference and modesty. They complained then, as now, of the private or official conduct of public officers, but it was in a tone of modest submission. This may have arisen from their long subjection to foreign powers. Yet from all that could be gathered they regarded the just and equitable rule of the British as an unspeakable blessing.

A new era seemed to dawn upon them when, within the last twenty or thirty years of the Company's rule, the advantages of a liberal education in English were offered them, the learning and civilization of the West were brought within their reach, and posts of honour and responsibility were held out to them as rewards of diligence.

They were apt and ready scholars, and the new impulse given them they were not slow to use. Their advancement was very marked, and the highest eucomiums were publicly paid to their intellectual abilities. There then appeared a change in their bearing, and one which was regarded by most Europeans as an improvement. It presented a contrast to their former servility. Unhappily they soon began to be puffed up with a sense of their abilities, and, rather over-estimating them, thought themselves in every way equal, and in some respects superior, to the authorities, to whom they were nevertheless compelled to be in subjection.

When, after the Mutiny of 1857, Her Majesty in the well known proclamation then issued declared that her subjects, of whatever race or creed, should be freely and impartially admitted to offices the duties of which they might be qualified to discharge, the Bengalees, already elated with the high praises accorded to their intellectual powers, began at once to assume a higher tone of independence. A free Press gave ample scope to the expression of their sentiments. Measures of Government were freely discussed, and men as well as

measures were brought to their bar, and approved or condemned according to their judgement; their standard being in many cases their own shastras and the principles by which their early Hindoo kings were actuated. Their aspirations are high. **The opinion so often expressed in private and public, that England governs India for India's good, is interpreted as meaning that England retains India only to instruct her children in the art of governing themselves, and as soon as they are competent, [the] reins of government will be resigned to them***. The proposition that all situations, whether executive or administrative, for which the Natives of India are found competent should be given to them in preference to European British subjects, born in England or India, has added not a little to their high expectation. They generally consider themselves quite competent for those posts already, and always complain when Europeans are preferred to themselves for situations of authority or responsibility. They watch with extreme jealousy the action of civil servants in every department, and regret that these offices are not filled by their educated men, who, they suppose, will administer justice with greater equity and superintend the finances with a stricter regard to economy. **Suggestions have even been made that one of their more noted men should be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal***.

Of those of the Natives who have been raised to the office of Judge of the High Court, or have been made members of the Legislative Councils, they have been justly proud. Yet as the latter are appointed by the Presidents, only in a few cases have their nominations met with general approbation. In most cases these gentlemen have been spoken of as having but little independence of character and as timidly yielding to the opinion of others. **They therefore consider that the time has come when their representatives should be chosen by**

themselves.*

Such opinions and such aspirations do not prove a want of loyalty. They may be regarded as the natural outcome of their almost sudden elevation from a state, not forty years ago, immeasurably inferior.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the Native periodicals as exponents of public feeling, it is scarcely possible to conclude otherwise than that the Natives are not loyal. **The almost unavoidable impression is that they chafe under the necessity of their subjection to a foreign rule,*** which they endure simply because they are not in a position to throw it off. The impression is rather strengthened than otherwise by the assertion frequently made that the Editors of the Native journals make use of strong language against the officers and the measures of Government, in order to secure a larger number of readers, whom they find principally in the public offices. Others there are, however, who apologise for their brethren, excusing this extravagance of diction as being merely the exercise of a newly-gotten power, which they have not yet learned to use discreetly.

At the same time it should be noted that in the public journals - Lord Northbrook is very rarely mentioned Her Majesty never I believe - but with the highest respect. This has led me to think that the strong language, sometimes so freely indulged in, is mere vapid blustering

by which the writers seek to give their readers an idea of their own importance and dignity as leaders of public thought and opinion; and that, whatever may be said to the contrary, there is a degree of truth in their frequent assertion that they are a loyal people. **At the same time they may possibly mean that as they must be subject to a foreign yoke they prefer the rule of Britain to that of any other power.***

May it not, however, be necessary to guard against too lenient a judgement? And may it not be worthy of consideration whether the strong language so constantly and freely used against the authorities with impunity is not calculated to debase their rulers in the estimation of the people, and whether the poison is not secretly working, producing a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent which may hereafter be attended with consequences both painful and troublesome ? **The Hindoos of Bengal are, with the exception of a very small percentage, idolaters, and there can be no true fellow feeling between an idolatrous race and their Christian conquerors, from whom they are widely separated by long established institutions, which they hold more dear than life itself*.** The laws prescribed by their rulers they may obey, and if appointed to judicial offices, they may discharge their duties strictly according to prescribed laws; but anything like true sympathy with Christians they are not likely to have while so far and unavoidably separated by superstitions. A small number have broken loose from the trammels of caste, and forsaken idolatry; but not acknowledging the Scriptures as the foundation of faith and practice, they are wanting in those high moral and religious principles which can emanate from no other source than Him who is the light of the world. **I imagine, therefore, we must wait till the blessed truths of the Gospel have been universally received before we can see such evidence of hearty allegiance to the Queen as the Native Christians of India manifest.**

In this I have not referred to the Mahomedans. They constitute a religious sect, who consent to submit to a foreign yoke, while their religion is not interfered with, until the advent of their long expected Imam, who will overthrow all other forms of religion*. In their mosques in Calcutta and all over Bengal, when the *Khootba* is read, blessings are invoked on the Mohamedan Badashah (Badshahi Islam), whoever that may be. If true to their principles, they cannot yield hearty allegiance to a Christian Queen.

I have thus endeavoured to state my opinion on this important subject. That the Hindoos of Bengal are loyal, I have always believed. Yet it has struck me that **loyalty with them may not possibly be exactly what we understand by the term. With us it is a kind of constitutional thing, which we almost naturally entertain; with them, it may be merely an assent to British domination, as a conquered race.***

I have, &c.,
JOHN ROBINSON.

January 21st, 1875.

33. BRITISH TAKEN UNAWARES IN BENGAL 1883; SIKHS AND MUSLIMS JOIN PROTEST MEETING OF SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE

[ENCLOSURES TO THE FOREGOING LETTER]

BL: RIPON PAPERS

From

J.W.Furrell, ESQ.,

Editor of the Englishman.

To

F.C.Barnes, ESQ.,

Private Secy.to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

"ENGLISHMAN"OFFICE,
CALCUTTA;

May 12th, 1883

Dear Sir,

I desire to call His Honor's earnest attention to the events that have occurred during the last few days in Calcutta in connection with the proceedings in the High Court in the "Saligram Case" and in the Contempt Case against Surendronath Bannerjee which arose out of those proceedings, and especially to the public meetings of natives which were held yesterday evening at various places in the Northern Division of the Town.

My apology, if any is needed, for thus intruding on His Honor's time is the fact that I see in these events strong reasons for believing that we are on the eve of a crisis which will try the power of the British Government in a way in which it has not been tried since the Mutiny of 1857, if then, and which calls for prompt measures of precaution on the part of the authorities, civil and military.

The essential facts connected with the cases to which I refer having been fully reported in the newspapers, and having, no doubt, been already brought to His Honor's notice, I will not advert to them further than to point out that the proceedings at the meetings of yesterday evening took place in spite of the fact that Surendronath Bannerjee, in his affidavit in the High Court, and still more explicitly, the Editor of the Brahmo Public Opinion, in an article which appeared in that journal on the 10th instant, had publicly declared, what was notorious, that the accusations made against Mr.Justice Norris were unfounded, and that, if any wrong had been done by bringing the idol into Court, that gentleman was in no way to blame for it, and that, consequently, the resolutions passed at the meetings were based on grounds which their authors must have known to be false. I lay special emphasis on this circumstance, because I think that the obviously fictitious and insincere character of the pretext on which the resolutions in question were based, combined with the fact that not only Hindus, but Mahomedans, were induced to join in the demonstration, shows conclusively that the authors of the movement were actuated by ulterior motives, and that

they have raised the cry of insult to religion, not because they believe it to have any foundation, but because they know it to be the cry which will obtain the most ready credence from their ignorant fellow-countrymen, and which, being credited, will move them most powerfully against the Government. But, while the previous occurrences to which I am referring have been fully reported in the newspapers, it is otherwise with the meetings of yesterday evening.

Owing partly to the fact that, acting on the advice of the Police, the reporters of the English newspapers, (the Statesman excepted), abstained from attending, and partly to the fact that the account of the speeches furnished us contained matter far more contemptuous than the libel which formed the ground of the High Court rule, only the briefest possible account of what occurred has been published. No European, official or non-official, appears to have been present at any of the meetings, and the task of preserving order was, for reasons which I can only surmise, left entirely to Native Policemen.

I am unaware whether the Government of Bengal, or the Police authorities, took any steps to secure information of what passed at the meetings.

Lest this should not be the case, I consider it my duty to inform His Honor that the meetings are largely attended by Sipahis from the native regiments, and by Sikhs, Mahomedans, and Jains, as well as by Hindus, the Jain priests present being in full canonicals.*

At the "Star Theatre" the principal speaker appealed to the audience to say whether the action of Mr. Norris, in having the idol brought into Court, was that of an unbiassed English Judge; and the resolution, as I am informed,was to the effect that, owing to that action, the confidence of the entire native community in the British Government had been shaken.

I think these circumstances place it beyond doubt that there is a movement on foot for making a powerful appeal to the religious feelings of the population throughout India on grounds which the authors of the movement know to be false, and I have little doubt that the meetings of yesterday evening are only the first steps in the campaign, and that, **unless prompt and energetic steps are taken to crush the movement, they will be followed by similar meetings all over India, which may lead at any moment to consequences of the gravest nature.**

The fact that Sikhs and Mahomedans were got to join in the fanatical outburst of yesterday appears to me to be of most ominous significance. It shows the existence of a common motive, political rather than religious, to which all natives, irrespective of creed, are ready to respond*. This view of the matter has been further impressed upon me by a conversation which I had yesterday with a Hindu gentleman of position, who came to me for advice as to what course he should pursue if called upon to take a prominent part in the demonstration. He assured me that he felt himself to be between *Scylla* and Charybdis, having on the one hand the fear of his own countrymen before his eyes, and on the other the conviction that the affair of the Saligram was destined to prove a second "greased cartridge" business, combined with the apprehension that, when the time of reckoning came, his having taken part in yesterday's proceedings might be used as evidence against him.

It is not for me to suggest to His Honor what steps should be taken to meet the crisis; but there is a general feeling that the public safety demands immediate and energetic action.

I may add that it is thought a most undesirable thing that at such a time the Volunteer Rifles should be without their arms, as they are at the present moment, and are likely to be for some time, their rifles having been returned into store for inspection purposes.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) JAMES W. FURRELL.

34. DISTRUST OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA A.O. HUME TO GOVERNOR GENERAL RIPON: MARCH 4, 1884

B.L.: RIPON PAPERS

No.87a.

FROM

A.O. HUME, Esq., C.B.

To

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON, K.G.

SIMLA;

March 4th, 1884

MY DEAR LORD RIPON,

The question you put at the end of your letter of the 23rd (7) of February precluded my acknowledging it sooner. I am only now in a position to report the present state of native feeling. It is rather hard on me that, sympathising so entirely with you, I should be so often compelled to place before you what cannot please you. It may seem as if I took pleasure in saying disagreeable things, or as if I agreed in what I reported, whereas very generally I understand the case too well to agree, so you must be just to me in these matters grieve if you will over the blindness and ignorance of the people, but don't blame me. I have been doing all *mon petit* possible to make them understand that a Viceroy is no autocrat, but only one factor in an equation, conditioned by all the other terms of the expression; that official procedure demands certain hypocrisies; that party ties cannot be wholly ignored; that you are not an Emperor; and that in expecting from you that swift autocratic immediate action only possible in an absolute ruler, they only betray their own ignorance of existing facts.

Well, I am sorry to say that the prevailing feeling throughout the country is one of sadness and dissatisfaction. There is no shade, I believe, of unkindly feeling towards yourself, no tinge yet of disloyalty; but there is a deep-seated growing belief that the existing form of government has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Formulated in words, the prevailing idea is this, if with such a Viceroy things are to be thus, what hope is there for the future? We have never yet had a Viceroy more honestly and earnestly desirous of doing us justice, and yet he appears as absolutely impotent to correct crying and wicked evils as a man like Lord Lytton. (They are very unjust to Lord Lytton; he was a scamp no doubt, and quite without principles, but he was full of noble impulses, for which they give him no credit.)

The Government seems to be a great cruel, blundering machine, running on by its own weight, dragging along with it, nolens volens, all connected with it, even the driver being incapable of directing its course. It must just run in the everlasting groove, there are the rails, and it can go neither right nor left. We want a less powerful Government it may be, but one less mechanical, more in sympathy with us, one that with less pretensions to high principles is able to do more real justice, &c.

Now, though our failure in the Ilbert Bill matter has unquestionably prepared the way for this feeling, it is your Madras visit that has evoked it. Rightly or wrongly, the universal feeling is that Mr. Grant Duff is practically the most unsatisfactory and incapable Governor any Province of India has had for many, many years. Of course this idea has been

disseminated from Madras. Nowhere else have even the people who are educated had any chance of forming an opinion on the subject; but I am inclined to suspect that there must be some real fact at the bottom of this strong feeling, because it seems absolutely free from personal animosity. No one abuses Grant Duff, no one says he is "a beast," no one denies that he is a clever man of well approved private conduct; they only say he is an utter failure as a ruler, and there is no justice for any one under his rule. Yet, say the people, the Viceroy goes himself to the spot; he sees with his own eyes, he hears with his own ears, how every thing is wrong, and yet he does nothing; he does not even order the release of the people of Salem, so unjustly transported, and he goes out of his way to say that things could not be in better hands than in those of Mr. Grant Duff.

I must explain that the Hindoo community throughout India unanimously believe that the Salem prisoners are the victims of a conspiracy; they believe that the Government knows this, and they had, it appears, settled in their own minds that you would either pardon all the convicts or direct a re-investigation of the matter through an independent Commission. They say that Dr. Maclean has been time after time openly charged in the news-papers with deliberate falsehood; nay that some statements contained in his official reports have been proved in the public press to be absolutely false, and false with the view of hiding from the Government that he was absent from his district at the Bangalore races when the disturbances took place - disturbances that the presence of any Collector worth his salt would have prevented. This Salem business has spread throughout the country. It is talked of, I am told, by all the Hindoos as if it was a perfect certainty, not only that the men convicted are innocent, but that the Local Government now knows the fact, - and they say the Viceroy is a very wise man; he went there, he must have seen and known all this, but he has done nothing; he is not a man to allow such (zulm) oppression if he could help it; it is clear that even he can do nothing; who are we to look to? Then that Chingleput case was one they conceived you would look into, and there are a dozen other matters they are telling me

about all of which they think you ought to interfere with. They don't, yet extraordinary as it may seem, realise that a Viceroy is not as an Emperor, who made a dash into a distant province, cut off the Soubah's head, righted all wrongs, and started the entire machine afresh on a new and better basis, off his own bat. It is of course no use my saying that in many of these matters I doubt whether the Viceroy could interfere, because this is just what they themselves think and believe, and the very essence of their present uneasy, discontented attitude. But I do say civilised Governments must be carried on with some regard for appearances. The authority, the prestige of local Governors, must be upheld. Even if in any case the Viceroy considered interference necessary, the public would not hear of it; the right thing would be done, though necessarily there must be some delay, but it would be done through the Local Government, who would be allowed, in 99 cases out of 100, the option of appearing to do it on their own motion. I do not know that the Salem convicts were innocent, neither do you, though you all assert it so strongly. Still less do I know that the Viceroy thinks this; but if he does, be sure he will cause the men to be released. Only in all probability, even if he does do this, he will not appear in the matter, but will allow the Local Government to appear to do it on its own motion.

This, and much more, has been urged by thinkers of our party, but thus far, as I now learn, without much result. It is not one thing but fifty. Your visit to Madras was taken as a test case. The universal impression was and is that things were going very wrong in Madras. Would you be able, had you the power, to put things right ? If not, there was little hope for the future. You went, you received numberless addresses, the people showed their love and gratitude, and you so answered all as to show that you appreciated this, and that your heart was with them, and yet, so far as the more crying evils of which they complained were

concerned, you did nothing; ergo you were powerless, the machine of Government was too strong even for you. This feeling of grave dissatisfaction and distrust of the existing system of Government is, I am told, at the present moment almost universal; it is not active or vivid; it has barely found expression anywhere in the press as yet; "it is like a damp fog" lying on the national mind, absolutely quiescent at the moment, but "carrying in its murky folds the germs of a dangerous political epidemic."

Those who know best say that this feeling, though to a great extent unreasonable and the result of a failure to realise, or a resolution to ignore, the limiting conditions of the position, has yet some just foundation. They say that it is true that several of the more important persons convicted in the Salem case were absolutely blameless in the matter, and that the official account of the affair was dishonestly distorted; that Mr.Grant Duff, with the best intentions and great abilities, is entirely out of his element in Madras, where an official clique of extraordinary vitality required, a wholly different class of men to deal with it satisfactorily; and, lastly, that the present nascent feeling of the incompetency of the existing form of Government to meet and satisfy the developing national mind is a very serious thing, not at the moment, but in its inevitable results, unless the Local Self-Government movement you have attempted to vitalise should grow into some form of representative institutions.

Having studied this latter question with all my mind and all my heart for the last 20 years, I ask them kindly to indicate any form of representative institutions now possible in India. They admit that no existing type of representation could be now applied to this Empire with

any reasonable prospect of success, but they say that the time has come to give the people hopes of something of the kind; to shadow forth representative institutions as a future probability even more distinctly than you have ever done, and that the idea germinating in the mind of the country, will by degrees evolve a demand for a form of representation that will be suited to India, though it will doubtless in some essential respects transgress Western axioms on this subject. **But I am a little wandering from your question, the answer to which, I am assured, is that the present state of native feeling is a passive state of dissatisfaction and disappointment, more sad than angry, rather felt at the bottom of the heart than expressed - gratitude to and trust in you personally, distrust in and re-awakening dislike for the Government as a system.***

Yours obediently,

(Sd.)
A.O.HUME.

35. REFLECTIONS ON THE WAY HOME, HEN. JAMES: c.1893

B.L: The National Review, Nov 1893, Feb 1894, pp 335-51, 772-82, 335-39, 772-773, HEN James, pp. 3611.ab (22), Extracts:

(p.335) I am on my way home from India to look after two school boys, and at the present moment am sitting in a quiet little hotel at Ramleh, near Alexandria, waiting for the Messageries boat for Marseilles. After nearly twenty-eight years of work in India, I have snatched one week of absolute leisure in Egypt, and now, while waiting for the steamer, my thoughts return to India.

The outlook in India, towards the close of 1893, is, I am bound to say, as unsatisfactory in some ways as forty years ago, when Sir Charles Napier wrote his severe but now forgotten strictures on Indian misgovernment. The danger, however, nowadays arises not from the native army, which is loyal and efficient, though two departures have recently been made, viz., the extensive enlistment of treacherous Pathans, who will turn against us in the day of stress, and the constitution anew of caste companies or even regiments, despite the lessons of the Mutiny. **No, it is the civil population that is beginning to give trouble. There are symptoms of unrest.*** The English people must have become aware that of late religious fights between Hindus and Mahommedans have been frequent to an extent unknown in former days, and to one on the spot they are unwelcome signs of the times. The immediate sources of the unrest are clearly apparent, and there is no use in shutting our eyes to them.

The first of these is the disloyalty, in the sense of a strong dislike of the British Government, displayed by the free native press and by the inferior class of educated natives. Let me not be misunderstood. The best of the educated natives are loyal and thoroughly appreciative of the benefits of English rule, even if alive to some of its defects. Such as these keep carefully aloof from the second-rate discontented class - the editors and inferior pleaders, with a sprinkling of Government servants, chiefly sub-judges and schoolmasters. The leading spirits amongst the class are Bengallis - who, as Lord Macaulay said, were born to be slaves - and Mahratta Brahmans (a head and shoulders above the Bengallis in intellect, determination, and courage), some of whom are genuinely disaffected. A few, but only a few, men of respectable position have (p.336) joined them. The still degraded position of the women even amongst all the most advanced (Parsis excepted), and adherence to caste prejudices, prevent that social intimacy between the rulers and the ruled in India which is possible between Englishmen and other foreigners. Excluded then from English society and out of sympathy with the old conservative masses, **hundreds of the so called educated have formed a kind of community, and that not a very happy one, of their own. Few of them have any thought of actually ousting the English, and the most seditious would confine their ambition, for the present, to gradually usurping the sole direction of civil affairs, retaining Thomas Atkins as a mercenary*.** They would like to break down British ascendancy, outwardly by meetings and so-called constitutional means, and secretly by talking and writing sedition. **The native press, with a few notable exceptions, is manned by the failures at the Universities***, often by mere school boys who have not succeeded in obtaining Government employment, and sometimes by dismissed employees. The British Government persistently and contemptuously ignores newspaper disloyalty. **But no one who studies the native press every week can fail to be struck, apart from the puerile inaccuracies and inconsistencies which disfigure it, with its ever-recurring note of unreasoning and feminine spitefulness to the British***. The best and most benevolent

proposals or actions of the Government have for long been treated, as a matter of course, as if they were deliberate conspiracies against the interests of the natives. Every one has trusted that the press would in time improve, but this hope has proved delusive, and at last we are beginning to realize that *gutta carat lapidem*. The disloyal vernacular rags now penetrate into remote villages. Just as many an English bucolic takes whatever a newspaper says to be Gospel truth, so when both elders and growing young men learn from the only publications that reach them - the village schoolmaster or accountant is generally the disseminator - **that the English are brutes, covetous and tyrannical, who have impoverished India, and whose only idea is to suck out its life-blood (this is literally translated and a very favorite expression), they begin really to think our motives are not so pure as they might be, and that they might, perhaps, be more prosperous, if they only got rid of us.***

I do not myself think that the great mass of the two or there hundred millions over whom we rule are as yet really tainted, although every year that takes them away from the age when cities were burned and blood flowed, blunts their appreciation of *Pax Britannica*, and the striking improvement in official purity which our example and our discipline have forced upon native subordinates, makes the people less conscious than before of our (p.337) superiority in that respect. But even though natives still beg every day to have their complaints investigated by English instead of native magistrates and judges, so sensible are they of our own superior fairness, still you cannot preach to them week by week that the English are demons and ghouls without some perceptible result. Is there then no fire under all this smoke, no genuine cause for all this unpopularity? **Part, no doubt, is due to the natural tendency of the Oriental to exaggerate***. A person, who, if applying to a Collector for a reduction of income-tax, addresses him as My Benevolent Lord, Protector of the Poor, and Asylum of the Universe, is just the person to call him a devourer of living men's entrails, when his petition is rejected. Still, there is some genuine disaffection at the bottom. And for this the education given at our schools and colleges is responsible in a very great measure.

Education belongs to one of the departments of Government, and foreign rulers would, it might be supposed, take good care that the merits of the British Government were always specially impressed on the students. But that kind of thing is specially repugnant to the free-born Briton. Wherefore, so long as a professor or school-master teaches his own particular subjects efficiently, we care not what his politics may be. Now the only active political proselytizers in India are philosophical Radicals, and the course of study prescribes many books devoted to the glorification of liberty. Youth is fond of novelty, and the change from native homes, where old fashioned ideas of reverence and obedience to authority are inculcated, to the college where freedom and hatred of fawning to the great are taught, upsets the student's equilibrium. Too often unfortunately, it is visible in his manners, in rudeness and want of courtesy, and when he writes polemically he oversteps all bounds. A Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, once said to me, seriously, that a course of Hobbes might be introduced as a counterpoise to excessive Radical teaching. Only the other day I sat listening to a lecture on Socialism, given by a Parsi graduate of Cambridge, at our college in Karachi. He announced himself a disciple of Henry George, advocated the nationalization of the land, and announced with joy, and that to an audience containing landed proprietors and capitalists, that a German professor had at last discovered a way for nationalizing capital too! This gentleman expresses much admiration for England in the abstract, but does conceal his dislike for British officers in the concrete, even though he has a brother in the covenanted civil service. Now, some of his pupils must imbibe this spirit, and when later they come to write in the Press they will reproduce it. My first collector, one who afterwards became Governor of Bombay - impressed upon me (p.338) over a quarter of a century ago that whenever a British officer was praised by the native press it meant that he

had not been doing his duty, and every year's experience proves the truth of the maxim. A British officer must be a Gallio. He must be masterful, ride rough-shod over many cherished abominations, and, above all, be no respecter of persons. That, while the secret of our success, is one reason why vernacular newspapers abuse us. For a British officer cannot stoop to "nobble" them like a native. A rich native will smile while an official clears out his poorer neighbors' cesspools. But when the rich man's own turn comes the press resounds with the collector's high-handedness and tyranny. So we very soon learn to be callous, and do our duty in scorn of consequences.

As for the idea of personal independence and hatred of oppression which our colleges teach, it would be a right feeling if balanced by a due sense of proportion. The old school dislike it, that is true. **"What," said an old Brahman to a friend of mine, "is the good of your schools? They only teach a boy when he comes home, to beat his mother with a shoe.*"** But putting that aside, with the most advanced the ambition of obtaining substantial political power is an undoubted fact, and if the way they would use that power may be judged from the utterances of some vernacular newspapers, there would be no greater tyrants than some of them.

The discontented are sharp enough to realise that, to begin with, two main difficulties confront them. The first is the division of the people of India by two irreconcilable religions, and into many groups by race and language; and secondly, **the fact that the executive power is a monopoly of the British, which the British mean to keep, the few native collectors and magistrates being the exception that proves the rule. To get over the first difficulty the annual debating society which dubs itself the "National Congress" was started*.** In itself it is a tribute to British organization, as it was begun by a retired British official. **The common ground of the congress, though not openly stated, is irreligion, and**

its common object, hostility to the British, under the guise of political reform*. Our education has destroyed all belief in revealed religion on the part of those who go to college, and though some of the most thoughtful of natives are striving earnestly to create a new and simple cult, they have not had more success than the missionaries. **The founders of the congress, then, believed that the godless would form a sufficiently strong body of themselves, whatever their original caste and creed, to unite under the generic term "Indians," and by gradual recruiting from an extensive anti-British propaganda throughout India**.* To undermine our executive supremacy is a matter by no means so easy, but they hope to attain it by an ingenious (p.339) and plausible cry. **"Separate," say they, "executive from judicial power." Now, they know right well that the keystone of our rule is the combination of the two in the person of the district collector and magistrate*.** Take away the magistrate's executive arm, the police, from his control, diminish the power which the representative of Government possesses of arresting criminals on his own responsibility, putting down riots, and sending instigators of crime to jail, however high-placed or influential they be, and substitute, as is suggested, a posse of LL.B. hungry pleaders as separate stipendiary magistrates, and you have emasculated the British administration. A Parsi, who is now a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and as ignorant as the ordinary M.P. of the details of the administration, on the occasion of the first meeting of the enlarged council the other day, had the hardihood, I might almost call it effrontery, in open council to advocate a revolution of this kind as regards the subordinate magistracy of Western India. And by preaching the stock arguments for the change (excellent in theory and in Europe, but impracticable in India) the cry may grow, till one day with a benevolent Viceroy, like Lord Ripon, or a mischief-maker like the late Sir Pope Hennessey, we may see the departure commenced. When that day comes, I recommend holders of East India stock to sell out. In Sukkur, a few weeks ago, a well-planned attempt was made by a gang of

Mahommedans, taking advantage of the excitement of the Mohurram, to murder an unpopular Hindu inspector of police. Luckily the district magistrate and superintendent of police were on the spot in ten minutes, only just in time to save the life of the inspector. Had the responsible officer been a Babu, or Mahratta, or Parsi combined sub-judge and magistrate, the murder and probably others would have been effected, and the shops of the Hindus in the town pillaged. It is not a knowledge of the statutes, or of the wisdom of the High Courts in interpreting them; it is not an intimate acquaintance with the writings of Burke or J.S. Mill or Hallam, that enables a British collector, with one or two English assistants and all the rest natives to control in times of difficulty upwards of a million of people, without a soldier near him; **it is his force of character, the prestige of his race, and the knowledge that he has an army and a strong Government to back him *in extremis**.**

SOME FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON INDIA.

In the November Number of *The National Review* I adverted to the feeling of unrest apparent amongst the populations of India, which I ascribed to seditious or semi-seditious newspapers, the revival of religious animosities, and the discontent of a small knot of semi-educated Hindus, whom experience proves to be unfit, as yet, either for political or executive power. I referred also to the financial stress under which India is labouring, and which the repeal of the Sherman Act will most likely accentuate. There are, however, two other causes of even greater anxiety to those who are responsible for the security of British rule in India.

The first and most genuine danger is one which the so-called National Congress pays little or no heed to, as the main supporters of that body are the pleaders who profit by the ruin of their dumb fellow-countrymen. Our lynx-eyed travelling M.P.'s, intent on regulating Indian borthels, liquor-shops, and opium warehouses, have failed to detect this danger, and only one, Sir William Wedderburn, who was himself formerly a judge in India, seems aware of its existence. Much has been written about it from time to time, but the lawyers have always been strong enough to obstruct any real reform, though a genuine attempt was made some years ago in the Deccan. I refer to the ever growing agricultural indebtedness and the steady transfer of the ryots' land to usurers. Agrarian discontent is brewing.

Now the most superficial observer must recognize that, apart from the British army, our mainstay in India is the confidence and loyalty of the people of the soil, and these we are slowly and surely alienating from us. From statistics I recently collected in Sind, I estimate that, apart from the land that has passed away already from the ancient Mahommedan zemindars and peasant proprietors more than two-thirds, and probably not less than three-fourths of the land is mortgaged, hopelessly. The evil is due primarily to imperfections in

the law and procedure for the recovery of debt, but also to the incapacity of our Civil Courts to interpret and work it sensibly. In the absence of agricultural banks the ryot must take advances from local money-lenders. Unable to read or write (p.773) himself, the money-lender keeps a running account for him of seed and supplies purchased, money advanced for replacing plough cattle, repairing wells and the like, for payment of the Government's tax upon the rent, and for domestic occurrences, such as marriages and funerals. Against this the money-lender credits the value of the crops when realized. The case with which a ryot can be over reached may readily be imagined. The usurer debits him with seed supplied at 50 per cent. over cost price (grain being always most expensive at sowing time), agreeing, at the same time, to take the produce later at a fixed price well below any possible market rate. Every farthing advanced, and the value of every article supplied, is charged interest at from 12 to 32 per cent.; and, in Sind, penal interest of no less than 70 per cent is added to this, which, if the advance is not made good to the day, the Courts enforce. Bad debts, of course, the money-lender has occasionally; but a good, steady cultivator is such a source of gain that, if he offered payment in full, the money-lender would put him off. Every three years, under the law of limitation the bond must be renewed, interest being added to the principal, the whole carrying compound interest. In Sind and the Deccan the money-lenders have combined not to advance a pie without the land being specifically pledged for

its repayment, so that, given a single bad season, the land is at the money-lenders' mercy. In the majority of cases the money-lender, to avoid the worry of cultivating himself, maintains the debtor as his tenant, as Lawyer Wake did Mr. Tulliver, but giving him only bare subsistence; but should prices go up, or it otherwise serve his purpose, he files a suit and sells the land-up generally buying it in himself for a mere song. The creditor is forbidden to do this without the permission of the Court, but that is a difficulty easily got over. The property is nominally purchased by a friend, who makes it over to the mortgagee when the legal transfer is complete.

The Indian money-lender almost everywhere is a thorough Shylock. Raja Brooke tells me that in Sarawak, where land may not be sold for debt, unless as a penalty for swindling, and where a limit is put on the interest that his Courts will enforce, the Indian money-lender has been found as hard and merciless as the China-man and Malay are fair and reasonable. With men like these, and an ignorant peasantry, one would have thought that English judges would have done their best so to administer the law between the two as to give the debtor a fair chance, while allowing the creditor what was justly due. But they are so hide-bound, such slaves to the letter of the law and to English precedents, that not a helping hand can the debtor get, and the Courts are mere machines which the money-lender sets in motion or directs at his pleasure.

> *The constant aggression of the West upon the peaceful and unwarlike East, Instigated by commercial enterprise if not commercial greed, has been invaribly in the name of Christianity. We have taken possossion of their choicest provinces and their best ports. And now, in the progress of time, we call for universal peace. Whether it is within God's Providence that the long-gathering resentment engendered by Europe's trespsses on the Eastern nations can be allayed without war, unless amends and restitutions be first made, is a matter for sober thought.-William J. Gaynor, the late Mayor of New York City.*

36. BRITISH RULE IN INDIA BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. (Secretary of State of the United States of America.)

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"What is truth ?" asked Pilate, and when he asked the question he went out without waiting for an answer. The question has been asked many times and answered in many different ways. I was reminded of a similar question when I read over the door of a court house in Aligarh India, the motto, "Justice is the strength of the British Empire."

No empire, no government, no society can have any other source of permanent strength. Lord Salisbury is quoted by Indian leaders as saying, "Injustice will bring down the mightiest toruin," and we all believe it. Wendell Phillips expressed it as strongly and even more beautifully (I quote from memory:) "You may build your capitols until they reach the skies, but if they rest upon injustice the pulse of a woman will beat them down."

But what is justice ? How varied are the answers given! The subject, in the name of justice, presents his appeal to his king, and the sovereign, if he be a despot,may send him to exile or the prison or the block and do it in the name of justice.

What is justice ? The question has been ringing in my ears during our journey through India.

When I was a law student I read the speech of Sheridan at the trial of Warren Hastings, and that masterpiece of invective was recalled sixteen years later when a colonial policy began to be suggested in the United States after the taking of Manila, and I tried to inform myself in regard to British rule in India.

The more I read about it the more unjust it seemed. So many Americans have, however, during the last few years, spoken admirably of England's colonial system that I have looked forward to the visit to India with increasing interest because of the opportunity it would give me to study at close range a question of vital importance to our country.

I have met some of the leading English officials, as well as a number in subordinate positions; have talked with educated Indians – Hindus, Mohamedans and Parsis; have seen the people, rich and poor, in the cities and in the country, and have examined statistics and read speeches, reports, petitions and other literature that does not find its way to the United States; and British rule in India is far worse, far more burdensome to the people, and far more unjust–if I understand the meaning of the world--than I had supposed.

When I say this I do not mean to bring an indictment against the English people or to assert that they are gulity of international wrongdoing. Neither do I mean to question the motives of those in authority.

Good Men in Office -- But.

It has been my good fortune to become personally acquainted with Lord Minto, the present Viceroy; with Lieutenant-Governor Fraser, the chief executive of the province of Bengal; with Lieutenant-Governor La Touche, chief executive of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and with Governor Lamington, chief executive of the Bombay Presidency, three of the largest Indian States. These men, I am sure, represent the highest type of their countrymen.

Lord Minto is fresh from Canada, where he was Governor-General; Governor Lamington was the head of the Australian Government before coming to India, and both Governor Fraser and Governor La Touche have long official experience to their credit. *That they will be just, as they understand justice, and do right as they see right, I am satisfied; but what is justice ?*

The trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage, not for India's, and that she holds India for England's benefit, not for India's. She administers India with an eye to England's interests, not India's, and she passes judgement upon every question as a judge would were he permitted to decide his own case.

The officials in India owe their appointment directly or indirectly to the Home Government, and the Home Govenrment holds authority at the sufferance of the people of England, not of the people of India. The officials who go out from England to serve a certain time, and then return, whose interests are in England rather than in India, and whose sympathies are naturally with the British rather than with the natives, cannot be expected to view questions from the same standpoint as the Indians. Neither can these officials be expected to know the needs of the people as well as those who share their daily life and aspirations.

Company Rule and National Rule.

It is not necessary to review the earlier rule under the East India Company; that is sufficiently condemned by public record. The company was chartered for commercial purposes, and its rule had no other than a pecuniary aim. It secured control of State after State by helping one native prince against another, where it did not actually instigate war between princes.

The English Government finally took the country over, confessedly because of the outrageous conduct of the company's officials. No one now defends the rule of the East India Company, although Warren Hastings was finally acquitted by the House of Lords in spite of his crimes, out of consideration for his public services in extending English authority.

Is English rule in India just, as we find it today? Fortunately England permits free speech in England, although she has sometimes restricted it in her colonies, and there has not been a public question under consideration in England for a century which has not brought out independent opinion.

It is the glory of England that she was an early champion of freedom of speech, and it is the glory of Englishmen that they criticise their own government when they think it wrong.

During the American Revolution Burke thundered his defense of the rights of the colonists, and Walpole warned his countrymen that they could not destroy American liberty without asserting principles which, if carried out, would destroy English liberty as well.

England Condemned by Englishmen.

During the recent war in South Africa the British had no more severe critics than were to be found among her own people and in her own Parliament. Today British rule in India is as forcibly arraigned by Englishmen as by the Indians themselves.

While Mr. Naoroji, an Indian, goes to England and secures from a meeting of a Radical club the adoption of a resolution reciting that as "Britain has appropriated thousands of millions of India's wealth for building up and maintaining her British Indian Empire and for drawing directly vast wealth to herself"; that as "she is continuing to drain about 30,000,000 Pound Sterling of India's wealth every year unceasignly in a variety of ways," and that as "she has thereby reduced the bulk of the Indian population to extreme poverty, destitution and degradation; it is, therefore, her bounden duty in common justice and humanity to pay from her own exchequer the cost of all famines and diseases caused by such improverishment"; and, further, "that it is most humiliating and discreditable to the British name that other countries should be appealed to or should have to come to Britain's help for relief of Britian's own subjects, and after and by her un-British rule of about 150 years" -- while, I repeat, Mr. Naoroji was securing the unanimous adoption of the above resolution in England Sir Henry Cotton, now a member of Parliament, but for thirty-five years a member of the Indian Civil Service, was preparing his book, "New India," in which he courageously points out the injustice from which India now suffers.

Neither he nor Mr. Naoroji suggests Indian independence. Both believe that English sovereignty should continue, but Sir Henry Cotton show the wrongs now inflicted upon India and the necessity for reform.

Promises Deliberately Broken.

Not only does he charge that the promises of the Queen have been ignored, and Indians excluded form services for which they were fitted but he charges that the antagonism between the officials and the people is growing and that there is among civilian magistrates "an undoubted tendency to inflict severe sentences when natives of India are concerned, and to impose light and sometimes inadequate punishment upon offenders of their own race," and that "in trials in which Englishmen are tried by English juries "the result is sometimes "a failure of justice not falling short of judicial scandal."

If justice cannot be found in the courts where shall she be sought?

After the Indian mutiny the Queen, in a proclamation, promised that natives should be freely and impartially admitted to offices, "the duties of which they might be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge." Lord Lytton, a Viceroy of India, in a confidential document which got print, speaking of the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England, said:

"We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them [the natives of India] and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course."

And again:

"*Since I am writing counfidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear*

Worse Than Russian Despotism.

The government of India is as arbitrary and despotic as the government of Russia ever was, and in two respects it is worse. First, it is adminstered by an alien people, whereas the officials of Russia are Russians. Secondly, it drains a large part of the taxes out of the country, whereas the Russian government spends at home the money which it collects from the people.

A third disadvantage might be named, since the Czar has already created a legislative body, whereas England continues to deny to the Indians any from of representative or constitutional government.

The people of India are taxed, but they have no voice in the amount to be collected or in the use to be made of the revenue. *They pay into the government nearly $225,000,000 a year, and of this nearly $100,000,000 is expended upon an army in which Indians cannot be officers.*

It is not necessary to keep such an army merely to hold the people in subjection if the Indians are really satisfied with English rule, and if the army is intended to keep Russia from taking India, as is sometimes claimed, why should not the British government bear a part of the burden? Would it not be wiser so to attach the Indian people to the British government that they would themselves resist annexation to Russia?

The Home Charges, as they are called, absorb practically one-third of the entire revenues. About $100,000,000 goes out of India to England every year; more than $15,000,000 is paid to European officials in the civil employ. What nation could stand such a drain without impoverishment ?

Taxation is nearly twice as heavy in India as in England in proportion to the income of the people. Compared with the people of other countries, the Indian's income is on the average one-twentieth of the average English income, one-seventh of the average Spaniard's income, one-sixth of the average Italian's income, one-fifth of the (European) Russian's income, and one-half of the income of the Turk.

Sir Henry Cotton shows that the average per capita deposit in banks in England is $100, while the average per capita deposit in India is 50 cents; but how can the Indian be expected to have a large bank account when the average yearly income is $10?

The Silver Question.

I have, in another article, referred to the jewelry worn by Indian women. The bracelets and anklets are silver, except among the poorest, and this was formerly a form of hoarding, but the suspension of the coinage of silver deprived the people of the privilege of converting the hoarded silver into rupees.

It will be remembered that the late Senator Wolcott, a member of the Monetary Commission appointed by President MeKinley in 1897, on his return from Europe declared that the suspension of the coinage of silver in India had reduced the value of the savings of the people to the amount of $500,000,000. The suspension was carried out for the benefit of European interests regardless of the welfare of the masses.

Death Rate Rising.

So great has been the drain, the injustice to the people, and the tax upon the resources of the country, that famines have increased in frequency and severity. Mr. Gokhale, one of the ablest of India's public men, presided over the meeting of the last Indian National Congress held in December, and declared in his opening speech that *the death rate had steadily risen from 24 to the 1,000 in 1882-84 to 30 in 1892-94 and to 34 at the present time.*

I have more than once, within the last month, heard the plague referred to as a providential remedy for over population. Think of it! British rule justified because "*it keeps the people from killing each other," and the plague praised because it removes those whom the government has saved from slaughter!*

The railroads, with all their advantages, have been charged with adding to the weight of famine by carrying away the surplus grain in good years, leaving no residue for the years of drought. While grain can now be carried back more easily in times of scarcity, the people are too poor to buy it with two freights added. The storage of grain by the government at central points until the new crop is safe would bring some relief, but it has not been attempted.

If it is argued that the railroads have raised the price of grain in the interior by furnishing a cheaper outlet to the sea, it must be remembered that the benefit has accrued, not to the people, but to the landlords, the government being the largest holder.

Money for an Army, None for Irrigation

Not only are the people being impoverished, but the land is being worn out. Manure, which ought to be used to renew the fields, is consumed as fuel, and no sight is more common in India than that of women and children gathering manure from the roads with their hands. This, when mixed with straw and sun dried, is used in place of wood, and from the amount of it carried in baskets it must be a chief article of merchandise.

There are now large tracts of useless land that might be brought under cultivation if the irrigation system were extended. Proof of this is to be found in the fact that the government of India has already approved of expansions which when made, will protect 7,000,000 acres and irrigate 3,000,000 acres.

The estimated cost of these extensions is about $15,000,000 and the plans are to be carried out "as funds can be provided." *Ten percent of the army expenditure applied to irrigation would complete the system within five years, but instead of military expenses being reduced, the army appropriation was increased more than $10,000,000 between 1904 and 1905* .

Of the total amount raised from taxation each year about 40 per cent. is raised from land, and the rate is so heavy that the people cannot save enough when the crops are good, to feed themselves when the crops are bad. More that 10 per cent. of the total tax is collected on salt, which now pays about five-eighths of a cent a pound.

This is not only a heavy rate, when compared with the original cost of the salt, but it is especially burdensome to the poor. The salt tax has been as high as one cent a pound, and when at that rate materially reduced the amount of salt consumed by the people.

The poverty of the people of India is distressing in the extreme; millions live on the verge of starvation all the time and one would think that their very appearance would plead successfully in their behalf.

Why Not Self-Government.

The economic wrong done to the people of India explains the political wrong done to them. For more than twenty years an Indian National Congress has been pleading for a modified from of representative government-- not for a severing of the tie that binds India to Great Britain, but for an increased voice in their local affairs.

This request cannot be granted. Why? Because a local government, composed of natives selected by the people, would protest against so large an army, reduce the taxes, and put Indians at lower salaries into places now held by Europeans.

It is the fear of what an Indian local government would do that prevents the experiment, although two other reasons, *both insufficient, are given. One of these is that the Indian people are not intelligent enough and that they must be protected from themselves by denying them a voice in their own affairs*. The other is that the Indians are so divided into tribes and religious sects that they cannot act harmoniously.

The first argument will not impress any unprejudiced traveller who has come into contact with the educated classes. There are enough informed, college trained men in India, not to speak of those who, like our own ancestors a few centuries ago, have practical sense and good judgement without book learning to guide public opinion.

British Arguments Answered.

While the percentage of literacy is deplorably small, the total numbur of educated men is really considerable, and there are at this time 17,000 students above the secondary schools and studying for the B.A. degree. There is not a district of any considerable size that has not some intelligent men in it, and these could be relied upon to direct the government until a larger number are qualified to assist.

It is true that native princes have often seemed indifferent to the welfare of their subjects--princes who have lived in great luxury while the people have been neglected--but today some of the native States vie with those controlled by European officials in education and material advancement. Is not the very fact that the people are left under the government of native princes in the native States conclusive proof that in all the States the government could be administered without the aid of so large a number of Europeans?

The second argument is equally unsound. To say that the Indians would necessarily fight among themselves is to ignore the progress of the world.

There was a time when Europe was the scene of bloody religious wars, and our country is indebted to the persecution of the Pilgrims in England for some of its best pioneers. There has been a growth in religious tolerance during the last century, and this is as noticeable in India as elsewhere.

Already the intellectual leaders of all the sects and elements of the Indian population are mingling in congresses, conferences, and public meetings. Already a national spirit is growing which, like the national spirit in England and America, disregards religious lines and emphasizes more and more the broad social needs which are common to all; and with the increase of general edecation there will be still more unity and national sentiment.

Those who make this argument also forget that as long as England maintains sovereignty it will be impossible for religious differences to lead to war, and that differences in council and in congress would strengthen rather than weaken her position.

Natives Excluded from Office.

Why is there lack of intelligence among the Indians? Have they not had the blessings of British rule of several generations? Why have they not been fitted for self-government?

Gladstone, whose greatness of head and heart shed a lustre upon all Europe said: "It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds, but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, wait till they are fit."

How long will it take to fit the Indians for self-government when they are denied the benefits of experience? They are excluded from the higher Civil Service (ostensibly open to them) by cunningly devised systems of examinations, which make it impossible for them to enter.

Not only are the people thus robbed of opportunities which rightfully belong to them, but the country is deprived of the accumulated wisdom that would come with service for the alien officials return to Europe at the end of their service, carrying back their wisdom and earnings, not to speak of the pensions which they then begin to draw.

As a Standstill Under British Rule.

The illiteracy of the Indian people is a disgrace to the proud nation which, for a century and a half, has controlled their destiny. The editor of the *Indian World*, a Calcutta magazine, says in last February's number:

"If India has not yet been fit for free institutions, it is certainly not her fault. If after one and a half centuries of British rule, India remains where she was in the Middle Ages what a sad commentary must it be upon the civilizing influences of that rule! "

When the English came to India, this country was the leader of Asiatic civilization and the undisputed centre of light in the Asiatic world. Japan was nowhere. "

Now, in fifty years, Japan has revolutionazied her history with the aid of modern arts of progress, and India, with 150 years of English rule, is still condemned to tutelage".

Who will answer the argument presented by this Indian editor? And he might have made it stronger.

Japan, the arbiter of her own destiny and the guardian of her own people, has in half a century bounded from illiteracy to a position where 90 per cent. of her people can read and write, and is now thought worthy to enter into an Anglo-Japanese alliance; while in India, condemned to political servitude and sacrified for the commercial advantage of another nation, still sits in darkness, less than 1 per cent. of her women able to read and write, and less than 10 per cent. of her total population sufficiently advanced to communicate with each other by letter or to gather knowledge from the printed page.

Illiteracy Despite High Taxes.

In the speech above referred to, Mr. Gokhale estimates that four villages out of every five are without a schoolhouse, and this, too, in the country where the people stagger under an enormous burden of taxation. The published statement for 1904-5 shows that the general government appropriated but $6,500,000 for education, while more than $90,000,000 were appropriated for "army services," and the revised estimate for the next year shows an increse of a little more than $500,000 for education, while the army received an increase of more than $12,000,000.

The government has, it is true, built a number of colleges (with money raised by taxation), and it is gradually extending the system of primary and secondary schools (also with taxes), but the progress is exceedingly show and the number of schools grossly inadequate. *Benevolent Englishmen have also aided the cause of education by establishing private schools and colleges under church and other control, but the amount returned to India in this way is insignificant when compared with the amount drawn by England from India.*

It is not scarcity of money that delays the spread of education in India, but the deliberate misappropriation of taxes collected, and *the system which permits this disregard of the welfare of the subjects, and the subordination of their industries to the supposed advancement of another nation's trade is as indefensible upon political and economic grounds as upon moral grounds.*

National Spirit Awakening.

If more attention were given to the intellectual progress of the people and more regard shown for their wishes, it would not require many soldiers to compel loyalty to England; neither would it require a large army to preserve peace and order.

If agriculture were protected and encouraged and native industries built up and diversified, England's commerce with India would be greater, for prosperous people would buy more than can be sold to India today, when so many of her sons and daughters are like walking shadows.

Lord Curzon, the most brilliant of India's Viceroys of recent years, inaugurated a policy of reaction. He not only divided Bengal, with a view to lessening the political influence of the great province, but he adopted an educational system which the Indians believe was intended to discourage higher education among the native population.

The result, however, was exactly the opposite of that which was intended. It aroused the Indians and made them conscious of the possession of powers which they had not before employed. As the cold autumn wind scatters winged seeds far and wide, so Lord Curzon's administration spread the seeds of a national sentiment, and there is more life in India today, and therefore more hope, than there has ever been before. So high has feeling run against the government that there has been an attempted boycott of English made goods, and there is now a well organized movement to encourage the use of goods made in India.

India and Colonialism.

Let no one cite India as an argument in defence of colonialism. On the Ganges and the Indus the Briton, in spite of his many noble qualities and his large conrtibutions to the world's advancement, has demonstrated, as many have before, man's inability to exercise with wisdom and justice, irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price for them.

While he has boasted of bringing peace to the living he has led millions to the peace of the grave; while he has dwelt upon order established between warring troops he has impoverished the country by legalized pillage. Pillage is a strong word, but no refinement of language can purge the present system of its iniquity.

How long will it be before the quickened conscience of England's Christain people will heed the petition that swells up from fettered India and apply to Briton's greatest colony the doctrines of human brotherhood that have given to the Anglo-Saxon race the prestige that it enjoys?

37. THE DEGRADING OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN BURMA, 1913

From The passing of Empire by H.Fielding -Hall, Commissioner in Burma, published by Hurst & Blackett Ltd., 1913.

(p.134-6): Throughout India and especially in Burma - you will find Government reiterating its conviction of the importance of preserving the village organism, repeating the conviction of its absolute necessity, and at the same time, killing it. This is but an instance of much of the action of government. It means well; it does actually see the end to be attained - it has no idea how to attain that end; but, instead, it renders it impossible.

If I explain what happened in Burma, the history *mutatis mutandis*, of what occurred throughout India will be clear. In the first place, a `village' does not mean only a collection of houses; it is a territorial unit of one to a hundred square miles. Originally, of course, there was in each unit one hamlet; but, as population grew, daughter hamlets were thrown off. They still, however, remained under the jurisdiction of the mother hamlet, and they all together formed the village. In each village there were a Headman and a Council of Elders. The headman was appointed or rather approved by the Burmese Government for life or good behaviour; the council was not recognised by law. Notwithstanding this, the council was the real power. It was not formally elected, it had no legal standing, but it was the real power. The headman was only its representative and not its master; he was but *primus interpares.*

This headmen and council ruled all village matters, They settled the house sites, the rights of way, the marriage of boys and girls, divorces, public manners; they put up much public works as were done, they divided the tax amongst the inhabitants according to their means, and were collectively responsible for the whole. There was hardly any appeal from their decision, but the power not being localised in an individual but in a council of all the elders, things went well. The village was a real living organism, within which people learned to act together, to bear and forbear; there were a local patriotism and a local pride. Within it lay the germ of unlimited progress.

(p.136) The English Government on taking over Burma recognised the extreme value of this organisation. In lower Burma much of our difficulty arose from the fact that the organisation was wanting and that between Government and the individual there was none. So one of the first efforts of Government in upper Burma was to endeavour to preserve and strengthen their local self government. Unfortunately every effort it made resulted in destroying it rather than consolidating it. A wrong view was taken from the beginning.

The council was ignored. How this happened I do not know. I can only suppose that it arose from ignorance. The only man recognised by the Burma Government we replaced was the head man. They dealt directly with him and not with the council. They did not appoint the council or regulate it in anyway. In law no council existed. Therefore, when we took over, the law was mistaken for the fact - a common mistake, due to seeking for knowledge in papers, and not in life, - and the council was ignored. The following seems to have been the argument:

Government appointed the headman, therefore, he was an official. Government did not appoint or recognise any council, therefore there was no council. Anyhow, that was the decision arrived at and enforced.

There is on record a circular of the Local government in which the head-man of a village is described as a Government official; to be to his village what the district officer is to his district. That is disastrous. A headman is not an official of the Government. His whole value and meaning is that he is a representative of the people before Government. He expresses the collective views of the villagers and receives the orders of Government for them as a whole. He is their head, not a finger of government. He corresponded almost exactly to the Mayor of an English town, who would be insulted if you called him a Government official. Yet this mistaken view was taken of the village headman, and this error has vitiated all dealings of government with the village headman. He is appointed by government instead of being appointed by the people and approved by Government. He is responsible to government, not to his village, - as he ought to be- for use or abuse of his powers. He is punished by government for laxity. By the Village Regulation he can be fined by the District officer.

There has grown up among Europeans in the East a custom of improvising fines. Many fine their servants for breakages and innumerable other small matters, and then complain how scarce good servants are. The clerks in Government offices used to be subject to continual fines until Lord Curzon stopped it. Now headmen of villages can be fined by the District Officer; and they are fined; the proviso is no dead letter. It is a mark of the officer to use it. Can there be anything more destructive? Imagine the headman, the mayor of a community of three or four thousand people, fined five shillings for the delay of a return, or sit like a schoolboy, to learn a code-with the clerks; I have seen this done often. What respect for Government, what from his own people, what self respect, can he retain after such treatment?

Again by ignoring the council and making the headman an official, Government set up a number of petty tyrants, in the villages, free from all control but its own. Consequently, it has been forced to allow great latitude. This still but destroys his authority. He is under old customs legalised by the Village Regulation, empowered to punish his villagers who disobey him in certain matters. The punishments are of course, trivial. When approved by the council, as in old days, they were final; but now they can be appealed against - and are. A headman who endeavours to enforce his authority runs the risk of being complained against and forced to attend Headquarters, to waste days of valuable time and considerable sums of money to defend himself for having fined a villager a shilling for not mending his fence. One or two experiences of this sort and the headman lets things slide in future.

Thus interference with the village is constant and disastrous. Headmen are bullied, fined, as if to learn lessons like children, all in the name of efficiency. And Government says that headmen are no longer the men they used to be, that they have lost authority. The best men will not take the appointment - who can wonder? Here is a story in illustration:

There was a small village in my district, on a main road, and the headman died. It was necessary to appoint a new one. But no one would take the appointment. The elders were asked to nominate a man, but no one would take the nomination. I sent the Township officer to try to arrange; he failed.

Now a village cannot get along without a headman, Government is at an end; no taxes can be collected, for instance; therefore it was necessary a headman be appointed at once. I went to the village myself and called the elders and gave them an order that they must nominate someone. So next morning, after stormy meetings in the village, a man was brought to me and introduced as the head-man elect. He was dirty, ill-clad, and not at all the sort of man I

should have cared to appoint, nor one whom it would be supposed the villagers would care to accept. Yet he was the only nominee.

"What is your occupation?" I asked.

He said he had none.

"What tax did you pay last year? " I asked him this in order to discover his standing, for men are rated according to their means.

He told me that he had paid five shillings - less than a third of the average.

"You are willing to be headman?" I asked.

"No", he said frankly, "But no one would take the place and the elders told me I must. They said they would prosecute me under the `bad livelihood' section if I did not. I could take my choice between being headman or a term in prison". This was, of course, an extreme case, but it illustrates the position. The headman is degraded and all administration suffers.

It is the same in municipalities. The work is done by the District Officer because it is easier for him to do it than to instruct and allow others to do it.

The people all hate this. The headman hates it, because though he is given much greater power nominally than he used to have he dare not use this power. He is isolated from his villagers, and so often becomes an object of dislike to them. Through him orders are enforced which are not liked by the people, and he has to bear all the brunt. His dignity is gone. Sometimes he is murdered.

The elders hate. They have been ignored, They are placed under a headman who may or may not attend to what they say. They have lost all interest because all powers in their village affairs. They have no responsibility.

The villagers hate it. A council of their own elders they could respect and submit to; a one-man rule they detest. Their appeal to the council on the spot (who know) has been lost; and in place of it they have an appeal to a distant officer who, with the best will in the world, cannot know. An appeal costs money, and even to win, may be even to lose. They all want to manage their affairs; they can do it far better than we can, and there is nothing they so much appreciate as being allowed to do so.

THANK YOU